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Albert Henrichs
Editor

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CONTENTS

La titulature de Nicée et de Nicomédie: La gloire et la haine LOUIS ROBERT	1
Ad Hoc Invention in the <i>Iliad</i> M. M. WILLCOCK	41
Apollo's Perfidy: <i>Iliad</i> Ω 59-63 RUTH SCODEL	55
Callinus 1 and Tyrtaeus 10 as Poetry A. W. H. ADKINS	59
The <i>Oresteia</i> and Cimon JOHN R. COLE	99
Has Good Prevailed? A Further Study of the <i>Oresteia</i> PHILIP VELLACOTT	113
Three Passages from the <i>Andromache</i> DAVID KOVACS	123
<i>Wasps</i> 1360-1369: Philokleon's τωθασμός JEFFREY S. RUSTEN	157
The Curse of Civilization: The Choral Odes of the <i>Phoenissae</i> MARYLIN B. ARTHUR	163
Thucydides 2.65.8: ἐλευθέρως LOWELL EDMUNDS AND RICHARD MARTIN	187
A New Serenus Stamping from Sardis and the Origins of the Eastern Sigillata B Ware JAMES F. WRABETZ	195

On Valerius Flaccus D. R. SHACKLETON BAILEY	199
Arrian and the Alani A. B. BOSWORTH	217
A Fourth-Century Latin Soldier's Epitaph at Nakolea THOMAS DREW-BEAR	257
Seventeen Letters of Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff to Eduard Fraenkel WILLIAM MUSGRAVE CALDER III	275
Summaries of Dissertations for the Degree of Ph.D.	299

HARVARD STUDIES IN
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LA TITULATURE DE NICÉE ET DE NICOMÉDIE: LA GLOIRE ET LA HAINE

LOUIS ROBERT

LES inscriptions et les monnaies des villes de l'Asie Mineure à l'époque impériale ont mis sous nos yeux la prolifération des titres honorifiques des villes dans toutes leurs variétés. Ces deux catégories de documents doivent se soutenir l'une l'autre pour que nous puissions arriver à l'interprétation historique. Bien des cités ont été en émulation et en lutte avec leurs voisines pour l'emploi de ces titres, soit que l'une revendique elle aussi et obtienne l'honneur d'un titre que portait l'autre, soit qu'elle imagine et fasse reconnaître un titre nouveau et original qui la met en une situation spéciale devant ses rivales. C'est une de ces rivalités qui sera étudiée dans ces pages pour les deux plus grandes villes de la province de Bithynie, Nicomédie, la métropole, et Nicée.¹

Pour Nicomédie, on admet que le titre de métropole, porté par cette ville, fut incontesté.² Il est marqué sur ses monnaies³ en tout

¹ Un résumé très succinct et naturellement sans références a paru, après avoir été exposé dans un cours, dans l'*Annuaire du Collège de France*, 73^e année (1973), 486-487, et sans la fin de cet article sur les émissions très originales de Nicée sous Commode et de Nicomédie et Kios sous Septime Sévère, ni les conclusions d'ensemble.

² Ainsi Th. Reinach (voir la note suivante), p. 396 et 513; W. Ruge, *Realenc.*, s.v. *Nikaia* 7, 230; *Nikomedeia*, 472-473 (dans la suite, je renvoie aux deux articles de W. Ruge dans la *Realenc.* en citant: Ruge, *Nikaia*, ou Ruge, *Nikomedeia*); C. Bosch, *Die kleinas. Münzen der röm. Kaiserzeit, Teil II, Bd. 1, Bithynien, 1. Hälfte* (la province et Nicomédie; Stuttgart, 1935; j'y renvoie par le seul nom: C. Bosch), 224 (il s'agit des pages, car le volume, seul paru, comprend un commentaire, *Einzeluntersuchungen*, et le catalogue, dont l'auteur donne des numéros, n'a pas paru): "unbestritten" depuis Germanicus. Voir ci-après la discussion sur 'métropole' dans une inscription de Nicée sous Hadrien.

³ *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure*, Tome I, *Pont, Paphlagonie et Bithynie*, fasc. 3, *Nicée et Nicomédie* (Paris, 1910). Le catalogue est l'œuvre des deux auteurs, Ernest Babelon et Théodore Reinach; les introductions au catalogue de chaque ville sont dues à Th. Reinach. Je renvoie aux pages des introductions par Th. Reinach; aux numéros du catalogue par le simple: *Recueil*. La numérotation des pages est continue dans tout le tome I^{er} (seul paru); dans le catalogue la numérotation est faite ville par ville; on verra

cas depuis Claude.⁴ Il continue dès lors sur ces documents, en toutes lettres ou en abrégé, soit seul, soit avec les titres "première de la Bithynie et du Pont" ou "néocore,"⁵ jusqu'à ce que la concession d'une deuxième néocorie par Septime Sévère lui fasse normalement négliger ces titres pour le seul "deux fois néocore," *Νικομηδέων δις*

aisément par le texte, quand je cite par exemple n.50, s'il s'agit de Nicée ou de Nicomédie. Je renverrai toujours à ce *Recueil*. J'ai dépouillé, dans la *Sylloge Nummorum*, le catalogue de Copenhague, *Danish Museum, Bosporus-Bithynia* (1944), n.465-621 (pour les deux villes), et ceux de *Sammlung Von Aulock, Pontus, Paphlagonien, Bithynien* (fasc. 1; 1957), n.531-866, et *Nachträge I* (fasc. 15; 1967), 7010-7150; comme je n'y ai pas trouvé de nouveautés pour les légendes qui m'occupent et pour leur chronologie, je n'ai pas eu à les citer.

⁴ *Recueil*, n.14, 16, 17, 18, 19. C. Bosch, 224, après Th. Reinach, reconnaît déjà ce titre de "métropole" ou "première métropole" dans les abréviations AM (qui ne serait pas *πρώτη μεγίστη*) sur les monnaies à l'effigie de Germanicus *Recueil*, n.12-13. Dans l'intérieur de la Bithynie, Strabon, XII, 565, cite Bithynion, la future Claudiopolis, et *Νίκαια ἡ μητρόπολις τῆς Βιθυνίας ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀσκανίῃ λίμνῃ*. Dans XII, 563, il a cité les villes des côtes de Bithynie, Chalcédoine, Nicomédie, Kios-Prousa, Myrleia-Apamée, pour arriver à Prousa de l'Olympe, et il n'a rien eu à dire sur l'importance de la ville, rappelant seulement qu'elle tenait son nom d'un roi de Bithynie qui l'avait fondée. Admettant que la rédaction de la Géographie est de 18-19 p. C. (et que Strabon est à jour sur ce point), Bosch admet que le titre de métropole est passé de Nicée à Nicomédie entre cette date et le voyage de Germanicus, et qu'il est "plus que vraisemblable" que ce prince, lors de son voyage, est l'auteur de cette réforme. Un passage de Dion Cassius, 51, 20, montre la prédominance de Nicée au début du règne d'Auguste; alors que l'empereur permet aux Hellènes de lui consacrer un sanctuaire, à Pergame pour la province d'Asie et à Nicomédie pour la Bithynie, il institue pour les Romains un culte de Rome et de Jules César à Ephèse et à Nicée: *αὐται γὰρ τότε αἱ πόλεις ἔν τε τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ προετερύμηντο*. L'adverbe *τότε* sous la plume du Nicéen Dion Cassius me semble être l'écho du changement irréversible intervenu depuis lors.

⁵ Selon Th. Reinach, *Recueil*, p. 513, "il est probable que ce titre néocore lui fut conféré à la suite de la construction d'un temple d'Hadrien, puisque sur les inscriptions la ville s'intitule *Ἀδριανῇ νεωκόρος Νικομήδεια*, *CIG*, 1720 [il n'y a pas de rapport nécessaire]. On peut s'étonner que le néocorat ne remonte pas beaucoup plus haut puisque, dès le vivant d'Auguste, Nicomédie avait un temple 'grec' consacré à cet empereur (Dion Cassius, 51, 20, 7). Mais nous savons par ailleurs que ce temple était dédié par le *Koinon* grec de Bithynie." Il conclut alors en adhérant à la thèse, réfutée, de P. Monceaux sur le caractère municipal de la néocorie. C. Bosch, 227-228, rattache le titre au temple provincial d'Auguste, bien qu'il n'apparaisse sur les monnaies qu'à partir d'Antonin le Pieux et l'image à partir d'Hadrien (pour le I^{er} siècle et une partie du II^e, il faut bien observer que les néocories ne sont pas encore mentionnées comme dans la suite et que le décalage entre le fait de la néocorie et son attestation monétaire ou épigraphique peut être considérable; il en est de même pour les concours). Pour la thèse du temple provincial qu'implique la néocorie, cf. *Rev. Phil.* 1967, 48.

νεωκόρων,⁶ qui sera remplacé par “trois fois néocore” pour une brève période sous Élagabal,⁷ puis à partir de Sévère Alexandre.⁸

Nicomédie porte aussi un autre titre, soit seul, soit avec celui de métropole, à partir de Domitien:⁹ *Νεικομηδεῖς πρῶτοι Πόντου καὶ Βιθυνίας* (*Βιθυνίας καὶ Πόντου*), ἡ μητρόπολις καὶ πρώτη *Βιθυνίας καὶ Πόντου* (*Recueil*, n.30-39)¹⁰ sur toutes les monnaies du règne. Sous Trajan se lit la même formule, n.30, 32, ou le seul *πρωτ. Βιθυ*, n.41. Sous Antonin le Pieux,¹¹ ou il n’y a que le titre ‘métropole’ ou celui de néocore (n.74-75), ou bien le double titre *μητροπόλεως καὶ πρώτης Νικομηδείας* (n.55-59, 63, 67-69, 72-73), ou encore le mot est joint à ‘métropole’ et néocore, n.47: *Μητροπόλεως καὶ πρώτης νεωκόρου Νικομηδείας*. Sous Marc-Aurèle, le titre est sporadique, n.83, *μητροπόλεως καὶ πρώτης νεωκόρου Νικομηδείας*; c’est la métropole et la néocorie qui ont la vedette.¹² De même sous Commode, n.120-167, où il n’y a qu’un type avec *μητροπόλεως νεωκόρου καὶ πρώτης Νεικομηδείας*, n.166. Pour un cas isolé sous Sévère Alexandre, voir ci-dessus, note 6, le n.295. Dans deux inscriptions, à Nicomédie même et à Delphes, la ville se nomme ἡ μητρόπολις καὶ πρώτη *Βειθυνίας καὶ Πόντου*; la première date de Julia Domna, la seconde de Commode.¹³

⁶ Sous Sévère Alexandre, *Recueil*, n.295, un exemple isolé où cette formule est remplacée par la résurgence du titre *πρώτων Πόντου καὶ Βιθυνίας Νικομηδέων*.

⁷ Comme on sait, les néocories accordées par Élagabal ont été abolies à sa mort et, dans la titulature, on en est revenu au titre “deux fois néocore”, comme l’a bien montré J. Keil par l’exemple d’Éphèse; cf. *Rev. Phil.* 1967, 49 avec la note 2 (cf. 58, note o); *Laodicée du Lycos*, 283; nous avons décelé *Bull. Épigr.* 1974, 503, à Éphèse, comment la “quatrième néocorie”, décernée par Élagabal, avait été ajoutée sur une inscription honorifique, puis martelée.

⁸ Sous son règne, les monnaies portent donc tantôt “deux fois néocores”, tantôt “trois fois néocores”, selon qu’elles se placent avant ou après la concession de la troisième néocorie, dont la date exacte au cours du règne est naturellement inconnue.

⁹ Je n’indique pas les abréviations; tous les mots ne peuvent être gravés en entier sur la monnaie.

¹⁰ La formule *πρῶτοι, πρώτη* serait seule sur le n° 39, si la monnaie n’est pas de Nicée, comme le suggèrent les auteurs.

¹¹ Le seul titre ‘métropole’ sur les émissions au nom du ἡρώς *Ἀντίνοος* sous Hadrien, n.43-45.

¹² Monnaies de Marc Aurèle, n.79-103 et de Faustine, n.104-111.

¹³ La série complète des titres dans ces deux inscriptions est donnée plus loin avec les renvois à ces textes. C’est dans l’épithaphe métrique d’un gladiateur à Pergame qu’apparaît aussi le titre “première”. Ce n’est plus l’usage officiel, mais cela montre la popularité de ce glorieux titre: *ἀνέθρεψεν δὲ γαῖα | Βειθυνῶν πρώτη Νικομήδεια* (*I. Pergamon*, II, 577; *IGR*, IV, 511; L.R., *Les gladiateurs dans l’Orient grec*, p. 216, n.260).

Nicomédie est 'la première' de la province. Mais Nicée l'est aussi. Sous Claude déjà, n.30, le droit représente la tête tourelée de la Tyché de la ville, avec cette légende: *πρώτη πόλις τῆς ἐπαρχείας*, cependant qu'au revers on lit le nom du proconsul *Γ. Κάδιος Ροῦφος ἀνθύπατος* et le monogramme de Nicée. Sous Vespasien et sous Titus César, n.51-52,¹⁴ on lit l'abréviation *ΠΡ.ΒΙ.*, *Νεικαι(εῖς) πρ(ῶτοι) Βιθυνίας*; sous Domitien ne manque jamais le titre *πρῶτοι τῆς ἐπαρχείας* n.53, 54, 56, 57, 59, 62-65, *πρώτη τῆς ἐπαρχείας* n.60, ou bien *πρῶτοι Βιθ(υνίας) καὶ Π(όντου)* n.61, *πρῶτοι Πόντ(ου) καὶ Βιθ(υνίας)* ou *Β(ιθυνίας)* n.55, 58. On pourrait penser d'abord que les titres *πρῶτοι τῆς ἐπαρχείας* et *πρῶτοι Βιθυνίας καὶ Πόντου* se différencient, mais s'équivalent et que chacune des deux villes rivales a adopté l'un; ainsi à Nicomédie on ne lit pas "premiers de la province"; mais Nicée sous le même règne de Domitien use de l'une et de l'autre formule. De même, si la première apparition des "premiers" à Nicée ne nomme que la Bithynie, il a dû y avoir des surenchères par l'addition de l'autre partie de la province, le Pont, peut-être d'abord à Nicomédie. Le titre de "premiers" de la province, c'est le seul que peut brandir Nicée; elle ne sera jamais néocore; elle n'est pas — ou elle n'est plus — la métropole. Je n'hésite pas à voir une perfide intention, dans cette guerre des titres, dans le type et la légende du n° 61. Rome, casquée et assise suivant le type traditionnel, tend de la main droite une couronne. La légende dit: *Ῥώμην μητρόπολιν Νεικ(αιεῖς) πρῶ(τοι) Βιθ(υνίας) καὶ Π(όντου)*; ils ont consacré par cette émission l'image de la déesse Rome; ils lui ont accolé le titre de 'métropole,' et non *θεάν*, pour faire entendre: nous ne reconnaissons pour 'métropole' que Rome elle-même, et non la détestable Nicomédie. L'on voit aussi par là la tendance à invoquer l'autorité du pouvoir de Rome (empereur et Sénat) contre la voisine rivale.

Cette époque de Domitien, c'est celle tout au début de laquelle se place le discours de Dion ou plutôt qui le précède.¹⁵ Tout le discours concerne les rapports avec Nicée: *Πρὸς Νικομηδεῖς, περὶ ὁμονοίας τῆς πρὸς Νικαιεῖς*. Les Nicomédiens viennent de le nommer citoyen d'honneur, comme ont fait aussi ou feront les Nicéens. Il assure qu'il est donc de son devoir de leur donner des conseils, seule chose à laquelle

¹⁴ Le proconsul est M. Salvidenus Asprenas. Cf. B. Kreiler, *Die Statthalter Kleinasien unter den Flaviern*, Diss. München 1975, 138.

¹⁵ W. Ruge, *Nikaia*, 230, renvoie aux deux datations, celle de Schmid (avant le bannissement de Dion en 82; début du règne de Domitien en 81) et celle de von Arnim (après le retour d'exil en 96). C. Bosch, 225, adopte la date de Schmid; celle de Von Arnim me paraît plus probable.

il soit apte et, parlant beaucoup de “la concorde”, il leur lâche: “ne recommencez pas encore à manifester dès mon début, mais supportez. Je prétends, Nicomédiens, qu’il faut vivre dans la concorde avec les Nicéens.”¹⁶ Il s’agit de choses de peu d’importance, μικρά, φαῦλα; “nous ne combattons pas pour la terre ni la mer; les Nicéens ne revendiquent pas la mer contre vous; il ne s’agit pas non plus de revenus, ni de territoire. Entre les deux villes, il y a des échanges de productions, des liens de mariage et il y a ainsi déjà beaucoup de relations de famille et d’amitiés personnelles” (§22). “En quoi les Nicéens vous font-ils tort? nous n’en pouvez rien dire. Et si on leur demandait: en quoi les Nicomédiens vous font-ils tort? Eux non plus n’auront absolument rien à dire” (§23). Tout est à lire.¹⁷ Mais deux choses sont à mettre en valeur. Il y a conflit, στάσις,¹⁸ bataille, μάχη. Les instigateurs du conflit disent: ὑπὲρ πρωτείων ἀγωνιζόμεθα. Le rhéteur philosophe fait sentir la vanité de ces mots: τίνων πρωτείων? Est-ce que la bataille, ἡ μάχη, concerne “des dons qui seront faits effectivement et en réalité (ἔργῳ καὶ πράγματι δοθησομένων) ou seulement un nom (περὶ ὀνόματος)” (§24). C’est bien plus vain que les luttes entre Athènes et Sparte qui ont conduit ces villes à leur perte. Si les Nicéens nous abandonnent sans combat “le premier rang”, qu’y gagnerons-nous?¹⁹ ceci est longuement et très habilement développé. “Que voulez-vous, Nicomédiens, être ‘premiers’ dans la réalité ou être appelés ainsi sans l’être?” (§30). Il s’agit d’une bataille contre les Nicéens περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων (§40), qui n’apporte pas à Nicomédie le πρωτεῖον véritable et qui donne plus de pouvoir aux gouverneurs romains courtisés dans cette bataille (θεραπευόμενοι). “Ces choses dont vous êtes si fiers, tous les gens raisonnables crachent dessus; surtout chez les Romains elles font rire et, de façon encore plus outrageante, on les appelle “péchés grecs” (Ἑλληνικά ἀμαρτήματα). Ce sont des péchés, Nicomédiens, en vérité (ἀληθῶς), mais ils ne sont pas ‘grecs’, à moins que . . .” (§38)²⁰

¹⁶ §6–7: μὴ θορυβήσητε δὲ ἀρχομένῳ πάλιν, ἀλλ’ ὑπομείνατε. Φημὶ δεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες Νικομηδεῖς, ὁμονοῆσαι πρὸς Νικαεῖς.

¹⁷ Je reviendrai ailleurs sur le §32, relatif à la mer et à la marine de Nicomédie. Cf. ci-après notes 59 et 61.

¹⁸ C’est l’expression qu’emploiera aussi Aelius Aristide pour de semblables affaires; elle revient très souvent dans les discours de Dion aux villes.

¹⁹ §26: ἡμεῖς δὲ ἂν ἀπολάβωμεν τὸ πρωτεῖον ἀμαχεὶ παραδόντων αὐτὸ τῶν Νικαέων κτλ.

²⁰ Τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα, ἐφ’ οἷς μέγα φρονεῖτε, παρὰ πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς ὀρθῶς ἐννοουμένοις διαπτύεται, μάλιστα δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις γέλωτα κινεῖ καὶ καλεῖται τὸ ἔτι ὑβριστικώτερον Ἑλληνικά ἀμαρτήματα. Καὶ γὰρ ἔστιν ἀμαρτήματα, ἄνδρες Νικομηδεῖς, ἀληθῶς, ἀλλ’ οὐχ Ἑλληνικά, εἰ μὴ κτλ.

Cette lutte pour les *prôteia*,²¹ Dion propose de la régler ainsi pour Nicomédie et Nicée. Que Nicomédie garde le privilège du nom de 'métropole' et que le nom de 'premiers' soit commun aux deux villes; en quoi Nicomédie sera-t-elle diminuée en cela?²² On voit par les monnaies avec quel acharnement chacune des deux villes prétendait au titre de 'première de la province', et la chose avait commencé déjà sous Vespasien. On a pensé que la solution proposée par Dion avait été réalisée dans les faits, puisque sous Domitien chacune des villes est la première.²³ L'inscription de Nicée à la porte de Lefke, "si la restitution est juste, à savoir κατὰ τὰ κρίματα τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων à la fin des titres de Nicée," montrerait "qu'il est à supposer que les villes ennemies, d'après la proposition de Dion, se sont entendues à l'amiable²⁴ et que le résultat de leurs négociations a été soumis à l'empereur, qui l'a approuvé. Les αὐτοκράτορες sont sans doute Vespasien et Titus." Désormais les deux villes auraient joui du titre de "premiers" conjointement et paisiblement.

On voudrait croire à cet idyllique apaisement. A vrai dire, les légendes des monnaies des deux villes sous Domitien ne paraissent pas témoigner d'une entente, mais plutôt d'un acharnement dans la revendication. Il est temps d'interroger quelques inscriptions de Nicée, dont la valeur a passé inaperçue jusqu'ici sur un point essentiel.

Les premières nous retiendront assez longtemps. Ce sont celles qui ornaient la porte orientale de l'enceinte de Nicée, la porte dite de Lefke,²⁵ c'est-à-dire de l'antique Leukè sur le Sangarios, qui a perdu en

²¹ De ces luttes, avec troubles et avec procès devant les autorités romaines, il a été souvent question, à propos de Dion de Pruse et à propos des inscriptions et des monnaies, dans les études sur les cités grecques à l'époque impériale et on a souvent renvoyé à des pages de Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.*, V, ou de Waddington. D'après un matériel épigraphique récent, voir maintenant J. Keil, *Sitz. Ber. Ak. München*, 1956, III, pour une inscription d'Éphèse; L.R., *Laodicée du Lycos*, pp. 287-288; Chr. Habicht, *Alt. Pergamon*, VIII 3 (inscriptions de l'Asclépieion), pp. 71-74, 78.

²² §39. "Ἄν δὲ τὸ μὲν τῆς μητροπόλεως ὑμῖν ὄνομα ἐξαίρετον ᾗ, τὸ δὲ τῶν πρωτείων κοινὸν ᾗ, τί κατὰ τοῦτο ἐλαττοῦσθε; Le mot ἐξαίρετον pour la métropole au §31: Τοῦτο μὲν γάρ, καθὼς μητρόπολις ἐστε, ἐξαίρετόν ἐστιν ἔργον ὑμέτερον. C'est "le privilège".

²³ C. Bosch, 225-226. Cela suppose comme établi que le discours de Dion est du début du règne de Domitien, et non d'après 96, après le retour d'exil de Dion.

²⁴ "... sich gütlich geeinigt."

²⁵ On voit par le lemme de Franz que, d'après les anciens voyageurs, la porte s'appelait aussi 'porte de Karadin', ce nom étant celui d'un bourg situé à l'Est de Nicée, aux deux tiers du chemin vers le Sangarios (Sakaria), — et aussi porte de Damas (Şam), c'est-à-dire, je pense, qu'on indiquait cette ville si lointaine,

définitive son nom antique qui avait traversé les âges jusqu'au XX^e siècle pour devenir aujourd'hui Osmaneli. Il y a deux inscriptions d'époque différente: sur la frise une dédicace à la maison impériale du temps de Vespasien; sur l'architrave une longue inscription pour Hadrien. D'autre part, ces deux inscriptions étaient répétées sur la face intérieure de la porte. Elles étaient connues depuis longtemps par différents voyageurs, dont Sestini au XVIII^e siècle, que Franz a utilisés dans *CIG*, 3745 *a* et *d*.²⁶ Mais l'helléniste Alfred Körte, au cours de ses travaux épigraphiques en Bithynie et en Phrygie lors de la construction du 'chemin de fer d'Anatolie', donna une édition très améliorée et plus complète.²⁷ En 1930 et 1931, K. O. Dalman s'occupa des inscriptions en même temps que de l'architecture des remparts; après sa mort prématurée en 1932,²⁸ le spécialiste des antiquités chrétiennes A. M. Schneider reprit le travail. Pour les inscriptions de la porte de Lefke il écrivait:²⁹ "la lecture de Körte fut améliorée de façon notable par Dalman et elle a été vérifiée encore par moi au moyen d'une échelle." L'inscription de la frise est lue ainsi, en deux lignes:³⁰

1 Τῷ σεβαστῷ τῶν αὐτοκρ[α]τόρων ο[ι]κῶ καὶ [τῇ π]ρώ[τῃ τῆς ἐπαρχείας πόλε]ι Νεικαίᾳ

2 Μ. Πλά[γκ]ιο[s Οὐᾶρ]ος ἀν[θύπατος κ]αθιέρωσεν, π[ροστ]ατή[σαν]-
τος τῆς κατασκευῆς Γ. Κασσίου Χρήσ[του].

parce qu'elle était le point de concentration, avant la traversée du désert, des pèlerins à la Mecque et à Médine; c'est la porte par où l'on partait pour le Pèlerinage.

²⁶ Les morceaux *b* et *c* appartiennent à d'autres inscriptions, qui seront utilisées plus loin, dans un texte beaucoup plus complet.

²⁷ *Ath. Mitt.* 1899, 400-404; les inscriptions sont numérotées 1-6.

²⁸ Cf. mes *Opera Minora*, I, 436 (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1933).

²⁹ *Die Stadtmauer von Iznik (Nicaea), Istanbul Forschungen*, 9 (Berlin, 1938), p. 8, pour les numéros 11 et 12. Tel est aussi le texte de Körte, n.1 et 4.

³⁰ R. Cagnat dans *IGR* écrit en tête des deux inscriptions côté campagne, celle-ci et celle d'Hadrien: "Niceae in porta orientali, auratis litteris quarum formae ex clavorum foraminibus agnoscuntur." Mais cela ne s'applique qu'à la ligne 1 de l'inscription de Plancius (Körte, Schneider), non à la seconde ligne ni à l'inscription d'Hadrien, qui sont gravées de la façon ordinaire. On remarquera que les lettres en bronze (doré) ont été réservées à la dédicace aux empereurs et à la ville; la mention du proconsul et de l'épimélète de la construction n'a pas joui de cet honneur insigne et la hauteur des lettres est moindre. Körte écrivait, p. 400: "eine zweizeilige Inschrift; die erste Zeile bestand aus 10 cm. hohen Erzbuchstaben, von denen nur noch die Nägellöcher und zum Teil Spuren des Umrisses erhalten sind; die 8 cm. hohen Lettern der zweiten Zeile sind eingehauen, aber stark verwittert" (ensuite détails sur le procédé de déchiffrement de la ligne 1).

Du côté ville, on n'a pu lire que ceci :

— — αὐτοκρατόρων οἴκῳ καὶ — —

— — ἀνθύπατος καθιέρωσεν ἐπιμεληθέντος. — —

Le proconsulat de ce M. Plancius Varus a été placé soit au début, soit à la fin du règne de Vespasien.³¹ Quant au surveillant de la construction, il appartient à une famille très connue à Nicée;³² c'est celle de G. Cassius Philiskos, dont l'obélisque de 11 mètres, à 5 km. au nord de la ville, attire le regard.³³

Sur la porte Sud-Ouest de l'enceinte, appelée porte d'Istanbul, il ne reste que la ligne 1 d'une inscription semblable, que l'on peut lire par les trous de fixation des lettres de bronze. Sur le côté campagne: [Τ]ῷ σεβαστῷ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων οἴκῳ [καὶ] τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἐπαρχείας Νεικαίᾳ.³⁴ Sur le côté ville: Τῷ σεβαστῷ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων οἴκῳ καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἐπαρχείας Νεικαίᾳ.³⁵ Il n'y avait pas de seconde inscription. A la porte de Lefke, il y a sur l'architrave une inscription en deux lignes, qui sont gravées:³⁶

1 Αὐτοκράτο[ρι Καίσαρι θεοῦ Τραιαν]οῦ Παρ[θι]κοῦ [νίῳ, θεοῦ
Νέρ]ου[α υἱ]ῶ[ν] Τραιανῷ Ἀ[δρια]νῷ Σεβασ[τῷ] δημαρχικῆς
ἐξουσίας

³¹ Pour 70-71, voir A. Körte, *loc. cit.*, 401-402, après B. Pick, et suivi par Cagnat, *IGR*, III, 37. C. Bosch, 87, a adopté 78-79 (d'où Von Aulock). B. Kreiler, *loc. cit.*, 131-136 (avec discussion sur des homonymes et leur identification ou leur parenté), revient à 71, avec aussi W. Eck.

³² Voir A. Körte, 402-403; il s'y ajoute maintenant Schneider, *Die röm. und byz. Denkmäler von Iznik, Nicaea (Ist. Forsch.*, 16: 1943), p. 22, n.1. Cf. F. Millar, *A study of Cassius Dio*, 8-9.

³³ Une photographie dans le même ouvrage, pl. 2; elle manquait jusqu'ici, mais elle est très médiocre. J'en donnerai une ailleurs (cf. *Opera Minora*, IV, 127), en étudiant l'épigramme de l'Anthologie XV, n.7 pour Sacerdos de Nicée (cf. *ibid.*, IV, 90).

³⁴ Schneider, n.24. Ce savant écrit: "Von Körte . . . n.7 unvollständig gelesen." Mais Körte disait, p. 405 (je traduis): "les traces suivantes de clous, que je copiai sans lier un sens, correspondent dans ma copie à peu près, mais non pas très exactement, aux mots restitués à l'autre porte τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἐπαρχείας πόλει Νικαίᾳ; mais je crois que les différences, notables surtout dans ma copie du n° 6, sont dues à des erreurs de ma part, qui sont presque inévitables dans la copie dessinée de groupes incompris de trous."

³⁵ Schneider, n.25, après Körte, n.76.

³⁶ Voir Körte, p. 403; la première est haute de 9 cm., la seconde de 6. Ce n'est pas très clair dans la transcription de Schneider.

- 2 ΗΓ...ΥΣΕ...ΣΤ — 12 lettres-ἀπὸ Διονύσου καὶ Ἡρακλέους πρώτη Βιθυνίας καὶ Πόντου μητρόπολις³⁷ κατὰ τὰ κρίματα τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων.

Au-dessous le vœu-acclamation: Ἐπ'ἀγαθῶ. Sur le côté ville, on a lu:

- 1 [Καίς]αρι, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ νίῳ, θεοῦ Νέρονα νίωνῳ,
Τραιανῶ Ἀδριανῶ Σεβαστῶ δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας
2 [ἀ]πὸ Διονύσου καὶ [Ἡρακλέ]ους πρώτη Βιθυνίας καὶ Πόντου ἡ
μ[ητρό]πολις, ἀπὸ — — .³⁸

Remarquons que l'inscription commençait plus à gauche; avant *Καίσαρι* il y avait nécessairement [*Αὐτοκράτορι*].

La filiation "de Dionysos et Héraclès" a été communément comprise comme se rapportant à l'empereur Hadrien. Ce fut, peu après la publication d'Alfred Körte, l'interprétation de H. von Prott,³⁹ sur la lancée de son article sur Dionysos Kathégémôn:⁴⁰ "Hadrien était ici désigné comme descendant des fils de Zeus, Dionysos et Héraclès. Cela révèle d'un coup la vivante continuation de l'idée d'Alexandre à l'époque romaine." "Trajan, Hadrien, Antonin sont d'abord à leur tour maîtres du monde dans le sens cosmopolite hellénistique et, comme Alexandre, rapportent leur lignée non seulement aux fils de Zeus, Dionysos et Héraclès, mais ils sont eux-mêmes par là fils, c'est-à-dire incarnations de Zeus Olympien." Cette construction a trouvé — en ce qui concerne le Dionysos et l'Héraclès de la porte de Nicée — trop d'audience. Elle fut suivie par W. Weber, qui parle de l'assimilation faite par là entre Hadrien et Alexandre,⁴¹ par A. M. Schneider,⁴² par J. Beaujeu de façon plus floue.⁴³

³⁷ Körte lisait et restituait, l.2 (la ligne 1 est déjà conforme à la récente édition): [ἀ]πὸ [Δι]ο[ν]ύσο[υ — ca 10 —]σ. . [ἡ πρώτη τῆς ἐπαρχείας] πό[λις] κτλ.

³⁸ Chez Körte, la ligne 1 est pratiquement semblable (certaines syllabes qu'il avait restituées sont données comme lues chez Schneider). Ligne 2: [— ἀ]πὸ Διονύσου [καὶ Ἡρακλέ]ους (?) ο. η. ασα —.

³⁹ *Ath. Mitt.* 1900, 265–266: *Nachtrag zum "Dionysos Kathegemon"*. L'article prête à une série d'objections pour des textes ou des faits "surinterrogés" ou pris à contresens.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 161–188: *Dionysos Kathegemon*.

⁴¹ *Untersuch. zur Gesch. des Kaisers Hadrianus* (1907), 129: "beachtenswert" ce qu'a dit Von Prott là-dessus; 171: "Schon bei der Besprechung der Inschrift von Nicaea (oben p. 128 f) wurde auf die Verbindung Hadrians und Alexanders, die sich aus den Worten ἀπὸ Διονύσου καὶ Ἡρακλέους ergab, hingewiesen. In der östlichen Welt sind beide kühn als Brüder im genealogischem System aufgefasst worden."

⁴² *Stadtmauer*, 2: "Die Einwohner . . . konnten darum [reconstruction de la ville après le tremblement de terre de 123, comme pour Nicomédie] den Kaiser

J. Franz déjà, ne connaissant que la mention ἀπὸ Διονύσου, tout en n'ayant pas une entière confiance dans la copie de Dallaway qui attestait seule l'*alpha* initial, ajoutait: "non tamen omittam, Bacchum perhiberi Niceae conditorem," en renvoyant à l'ouvrage numismatique d'Eckhel. Quant à Körte, il indiquait cette remarque et ajoutait: "chez Dion 39, 8, [ce dieu] est appelé προπάτωρ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως, Héraclès par contre ὁ κτίσας τήνδε τὴν πόλιν." Il est peu compréhensible que Von Prott se soit débarrassé de ce texte capital en disant: "La préposition ἀπὸ montre que le témoignage de Dion Chrysostome sur la fondation de la ville par les deux divinités ne suffit pas à lui seul pour l'explication de cette expression: Hadrien était ici" etc. Il est dommage qu'on ait pu le suivre ou qu'on ait mis en balance l'évidente interprétation de Körte.⁴⁴ Dion, à la fin de son discours 39, "Sur la concorde, à Nicée, après l'apaisement de la discorde," invoquait à la fin, §8, ces divinités pour qu'elles inspirent dès lors l'esprit de concorde et d'unité de pensée et chassent la discorde, la querelle et la rivalité, pour être désormais au nombre des cités les plus heureuses et les meilleures, ἐν ταῖς εὐδαιμονεστάταις καὶ ἀρίσταις πόλεσι. εὐχομαι δὲ τῷ τε Διονύσῳ τῷ προπάτορι τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ κτίσαντι τήνδε τὴν πόλιν καὶ Διὶ Πολιεῖ καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ Φιλίᾳ καὶ Ὀμονοίᾳ καὶ Νεμέσει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς. Au début, il avait rappelé que la ville avait pour

[Hadrien], der wohl einige Jahre nach der Katastrophe zu Besuch kam (W. Weber), in der Inschrift über dem Lefketor in feiner Anspielung als Abkömmling des Dionysos, also als zweiten Stadtgründer feiern (über Hadrian als Abkömmling der Zeussöhne handelt H. von Prott . . . 1902, 265)."

⁴³ *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'Empire*, I, *La politique religieuse des Antonins*, 96-192 (1955), 200: "Il semble aussi, malgré l'état déplorable de la pierre, qu'une inscription de Nicée donne Hadrien comme descendant d'Héraclès et de Dionysos, fondateurs de la cité;" note 3: "IGR, III, 37 (cf. H. von Prott . . .): à Hadrien (a. 124-125), . . . ἀπὸ Διονύσου καὶ Ἡρακλέους; la restitution est probable selon Weber . . ., *veri absimile* d'après Riewald, 273, en tout cas douteuse." La restitution n'est pas douteuse; IGR donne une image fautive de l'état du texte; la formule, dans tout son ensemble, est parfaitement assurée par la lecture des deux inscriptions (ville et campagne) dans les éditions de Körte et de Schneider. C'est l'interprétation qui est mise en cause par Von Prott et Weber. P. Riewald, *De imperatorum romanorum cum certis dis et comparatione et aequatione* (Diss. Phil. Hal., XX 3 (1912), 273 et W. Quandt, *De Baccho in Asia Minore culto* (ibid., XXI 2; 1912), 117, n'ont pu se décider entre les deux interprétations; remarquer seulement que Von Prott n'a pas revu la pierre (ainsi Quandt) et qu'il ne s'agit que d'une interprétation imaginative.

⁴⁴ W. Weber, *loc. cit.*, 129, avant de se rallier à Von Prott, reconnaissait que "l'on sait que Dionysos et Héraclès sont les fondateurs de la ville." On a vu comment il tournait ce renseignement.

fondateurs des héros et des dieux, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἥρωάς τε καὶ θεοὺς οἰκιστὰς λαβοῦσα;⁴⁵ c'est, ajoutait-il, la paix, la concorde et l'amour mutuel qui conviennent à ceux qui ont été fondés par des dieux: πρέπει δὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ θεῶν ὠκισμένοις εἰρήνη κτλ.⁴⁶ L'accord entre ces phrases de Dion et l'inscription sur la porte de Nicée est patent, plus encore après la lecture complète de la dernière édition.

Il y a aussi accord parfait avec les types des monnaies de la ville. Parmi les nombreuses monnaies qui représentent Héraclès, au repos, en buste, accomplissant divers de ses travaux, certaines portent l'inscription τὸν κτίστην Νικαιαίης, sous Domitien, Antonin le Pieux et Marc Aurèle.⁴⁷ Le dieu-héros est le fondateur de la ville comme en tant d'endroits et, pour la Bithynie, de la ville dont il est l'éponyme, Héraclée, et de Kios, aux environs de laquelle il perdit son jeune ami Hylas enlevé par les Nymphes lors de l'expédition des Argonautes.

Quant à Dionysos, les monnaies de la ville le représentent en de multiples situations.⁴⁸ Dion l'appelle le προπάτωρ de la ville, son ancêtre. Ce terme est bien justifié pour ce grand dieu de la ville, comme pour Hélios à Rhodes, pour Zeus Chrysaoreus à Stratonicee de Carie, pour Apollon Tyrimnaïos à Thyatire en Lydie; Apollon Clarien est μητροπάτωρ de la ville de Césarée Germanikè en Bithynie, parce que

⁴⁵ Pour le terme οἰκιστής comme strict équivalent de κτίστης et contre la correction κτιστῶν introduite par P. M. Fraser dans le Discours aux Rhodiens de Dion, 31, 61, pour des fondateurs de la ville, voir *Bull. Épigr.* 1974, 404, avec un choix d'inscriptions et de monnaies de l'époque impériale. On voit ici l'emploi de οἰκιστής = κτίστης pour des dieux dans Dion lui-même. Hadrien est οἰκιστὴς de Milet (*Bull. Épigr.* 1966, 376), alors qu'il est souvent κτιστὴς d'une ville. Pour les dieux et héros, cf. aussi par exemple Steph. Byz. s.v. Μητρόπολις en Phrygie, ὑπὸ τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν Θεῶν οἰκισθεῖσα, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῷ περὶ Φρυγίας, et les monnaies de Téménotherai en Lydie, où Τήμενος οἰκιστής alterne avec Τήμενος κτίστης (Head, HN², 687). Le terme est fréquent chez les historiens et chroniqueurs dans les récits de fondation de villes. On trouve l'expression οἰκιστὰὶ πόλεως chez Platon et Isocrate (cf. là-dessus le Thesaurus pour conditor).

⁴⁶ Dans son discours aux Nicomédiens sur la concorde avec Nicée. Dion 38, 9, fait aussi des vœux pour le caractère persuasif de son discours: εὐχομαι δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς ὑμετέροισι καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων, les dieux universels en général, les dieux spéciaux de Nicomédie (avant tout Déméter) et ceux de Nicée (on voit ici lesquels).

⁴⁷ *Recueil*, n.56-58 (Domitien), 108 (Antonin le Pieux), 159, 161, 162 (Marc Aurèle).

⁴⁸ Le n.125 du *Recueil*, sous Marc Aurèle César, est remarquable par la dédicace Διονύσω ἀσύλῳ ἐφέστιῳ

Myrleia-Apamée fut fondée par Colophon et par le dieu Clarien.⁴⁹ Les circonstances légendaires justifient ce nom.

La ville, fondée de nouveau, après Antigone, par Lysimaque, portait le nom de la femme de ce roi;⁵⁰ les autres villes fondées ou refondées par lui ont eu aussi des éponymes de la famille royale, la plus importante le nom du roi lui-même, la grande Lysimacheia, barrant l'entrée de la Chersonèse de Thrace: la nouvelle Éphèse porta un temps le nom d'Arsinoè, femme elle aussi de Lysimaque;⁵¹ Imhoof-Blumer établit que les monnaies d'Eurydikeia avaient conservé le nom temporaire de Smyrne d'après la fille de Lysimaque Eurydikè;⁵² j'ai fait mainte allusion depuis longtemps à ce fait que les rares monnaies attribuées à des Agatho(polites), avec une tête juvénile et une chouette à deux corps, devaient être le souvenir d'une ville Agatho(kleia), d'après le fils de Lysimaque — il fut très actif dans le royaume et successeur présumé de son père, même s'il fut exécuté sur les intrigues d'Arsinoè — et que des indices me faisaient placer cette ville en Mysie et sans doute à Miletoupolis ou dans ses environs.⁵³ Le nom de Nikaia a persisté, peut-on dire, jusqu'à maintenant. Mais la reine fut oubliée, sauf par quelques historiens.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Tous ces exemples, avec références, dans mon article *Antiqu. Classique* 1966, *Inscriptions d'Aphrodisias*, 417, la longue note 1, où est rappelé le rôle de Dionysos et d'Héraclès à Nicée d'après Dion, d'après la numismatique et d'après l'inscription de la porte de Lefké. Là aussi l'explication de *propatôr Hélios* dans des inscription de Rhodes, contre Chr. Blinkenberg et G. Pugliese-Carratelli qui ont cru que des personnages étaient prêtres de ce dieu parce que leur famille en descendait; le dieu est, en général, l'ancêtre de la ville et de l'île; Hélios était l'époux de Rhodos.

⁵⁰ Témoignage de Strabon, XII, 565: *Νίκαια ἡ μητρόπολις τῆς Βιθυνίας ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀσκανίᾳ λίμνῃ (περίκειται δὲ κύκλῳ πεδῖον μέγα καὶ σφόδρα εὐδαιμον, οὐ πανὸν δὲ ὑγιεινὸν τοῦ θέρους), κτίσμα Ἀντιγόνου μὲν πρῶτον τοῦ Φιλίππου, ὃς αὐτὴν Ἀντιγόνειαν προσεῖπεν, εἶτα Λυσιμάχου, ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς μετωνόμασεν Νίκαιαν· ἦν δ' αὖτη θυγάτηρ Ἀντιπάτρου. Steph. Byz. Βοττιαίων ἄποικος (cf. ci-après note 76). ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ πρότερον Ἀγκώρη, εἶτα Ἀντιγόνεια, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Λυσιμάχου γυναικὸς Νίκαια μετεκλήθη.*

⁵¹ Bibliographie, avec l'inscription J. Keil, *Jahreshefte*, 35, *Beiblatt*, 101, dans *Hellenica*, XI-XII, 156, n.1; cf. *Bull. Épigr.* 1969, 81, p. 434.

⁵² Imhoof-Blumer, *Jahreshefte*, 8 (1905), 229-230; cf. mes *Études de num. gr.*, 204, n.5.

⁵³ Voir surtout *Bull. Épigr.* 1969, 85, p. 435.

⁵⁴ Les rois de Bithynie — et les habitants de la ville eux-mêmes — n'avaient aucun intérêt à maintenir le souvenir de cette pâle figure historique transitoire. Le nom se maintint, à la différence d'Arsinoè et d'Eurydikeia d'Ionie, d'Agathocleia de Mysie, mais il fut rempli et vivifié par des spéculations mythologiques, se rattachant à la fois au panthéon grec et à des traditions indigènes.

La ville personnifiée, avec les attributs de la cité, tourelée, a été considérée comme une nymphe et elle fut souvent représentée sur les monnaies; il n'y a point d'hésitation, car sur des monnaies de Marc Aurèle elle est représentée avec son nom *Nikaia* à côté de son buste ou de son image en pied, tourelée, comme déesse de la Ville;⁵⁵ elle a des attributs dionysiaques, couronne de lierre, canthare, ou elle a l'arc et le carquois,⁵⁶ comme sur bien d'autres monnaies où elle fut souvent prise pour Artémis. C'est un cas semblable à celui de Rhodos, éponyme de Ville et nymphe.⁵⁷ J'ai reconstitué la double personnalité de Téos, qui figure sur de très nombreuses monnaies de cette cité, et avec son nom, personnification de la Ville, tourelée, et nymphe dionysiaque, avec le thyrses sur l'épaule, puisque Dionysos est le grand dieu de la ville;⁵⁸ elle a dû avoir sa légende, qui ne nous a pas été conservée. Memnon d'Héraclée déjà parle de la nymphe *Nikaia* à Nicée.⁵⁹ A la fin du paganisme,

⁵⁵ *Recueil*, n.176-178. Déjà Imhoof-Blumer, *Nymphen und Chariten* (1908), pp. 153-156.

⁵⁶ Voir la juste description dans *Recueil*, p. 408, note 1, ad n.77.

⁵⁷ Voir mes *Monnaies grecques*, 9-10 et 14; cf. aussi 145-146. Il était nécessaire d'expulser des images monétaires l'image de "Alekrôna", puisqu'on retrouve encore ce nom dans une publication récente *Arch. Deltion*, 24 (1969), *Chron.* 476.

⁵⁸ Voir *Rev. Phil.* 1976, p. 187, n. 23. Je ne comprends pas comment, avec ce nom près des images, on a pu toujours décrire: "buste du jeune Dionysos comme Dieu de la Cité ("City-god") tourelé, thyrses orné à l'épaule." Cette nymphe dionysiaque, personnification de la ville, est absente de l'excellent volume d'Imhoof-Blumer, *Nymphen und Chariten* (1908) et les plus récents catalogues décrivent toujours le traditionnel "Dionysos jeune en Dieu de la Ville". Voir encore ci-après note 61.

⁵⁹ *F. Gr. Hist.* (Jacoby), III B, n.434, 28, 9: *Αὕτη δὲ ἡ πόλις ἡ Νίκαια τὴν μὲν κλήσιν ἄγει ἀπὸ ναίδος νύμφης ὄνομα λαχούσης τὴν Νίκαιαν, ἔργον δὲ γέγονε Νικαέων* (de Phocide, §10; c'est la Locride) *τῶν μετὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου μὲν στρατευσάντων, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου θάνατον κατὰ ζήτησιν πατρίδος ταύτην τε κτισάντων καὶ συνοικισαμένων. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ναὶς ἡ Νίκαια λέγεται φῶναι Σαγγαρίου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν δυνάστου* (je reviendrai là-dessus; cf. note 17) *καὶ Κυβέλης . . . ἐν ὄρεσι καὶ θήραις τὸν βίον ἔσχε* (on y reconnaît la figure de la copie d'Artémis); suit la légende sur le stratagème de Dionysos. Dès lors la femme de Lysimaque est tout à fait oubliée et on a deux traditions: la nymphe artémisiaque rendue mère par Dionysos, et l'histoire, mal bâtie historiquement, des soldats d'Alexandre. Rien ne permet de dire que la légende de la nymphe aimée de Dionysos remonte seulement au II^e siècle p. C.; Dion l'atteste par le terme de Dionysos *propatôr* et il serait normal, dans l'ensemble de ces légendes, qu'elle remontât à l'époque hellénistique. Cela correspondrait à certains courants littéraires de cette époque, que le motif ait été traité par des historiens ou des poètes, dans des recueils de *Bithyniaka* ou dans des histoires d'amour, des *Érôtika Pathémata*, cela dans une ville cultivée comme Nicée.

Nonnos, grand conservateur pour nous de traditions locales,⁶⁰ a raconté tout au long, dans les livres XV et XVI de ses *Dionysiaques*, l'histoire de la nymphe Nikaia, fille de Sangarios (le fleuve coulait sur le territoire de Nicée)⁶¹ et de Cybèle,⁶² ardente chasseresse, λαγωβόλος Ἄρτεμις ἄλλη;⁶³ rebelle à l'amour, avec même une énergie meurtrière contre ses soupirants, elle fut endormie par une source que Dionysos avait transformée en vin et elle fut alors possédée par le dieu qui en eut un enfant.⁶⁴ On voit par là comme Dionysos mérite le titre de *propatôr* chez Dion. Il est appelé directement τὸν κτίστην sur des monnaies de Nicée, qui le représentent sous Domitien, Antonin le Pieux, Lucius Verus, Commode et Gordien.⁶⁵ Sous Néron déjà, un autel enguirlandé est entouré de la légende Διονύσου κτίστου Νείκαια (n.44 et 44 bis); sans doute a-t-on consacré à ce moment la nouvelle légende par un autel et un culte. C'est exactement comme fondateur que Dionysos apparaît à la fin du livre XVI de Nonnos, 403-405:

καὶ πόλιν εὐλάιγγα φιλακρήτῳ παρὰ λίμνῃ
τεῦξε θεὸς Νίκαιαν, ἐπώνυμον ἦν ἀπὸ νύμφης
Ἀστακίης ἐκάλεσσε καὶ Ἴνδοφόνον μετὰ νίκην.

Voilà encore un cas où il y a une rencontre remarquable entre une légende racontée par Nonnos et les types des monnaies d'une ville à l'époque impériale: la même légende y est représentée, à des siècles de

⁶⁰ Voir notamment *Villes d'Asie Mineure*², 313-317 et aussi 275-278, 297-311; *J. Savants* 1975, 154-192: *Nonnos et les monnaies d'Akmonia de Phrygie*; *BCH* 1977, *Documents d'Asie Mineure*, IV.

⁶¹ Ce dernier point méconnu par Imhoof-Blumer, *Fluss- und Meergötter*, 265; fort bien vu par W. Ruge, *Nikaia*, 231; je devrai y revenir dans une étude sur la marine de Nicomédie et sur Nicée, en utilisant cette légende et un passage de Dion Chrysostome.

⁶² Les parents ne sont mentionnés que par Memnon.

⁶³ Nonnos, XV, 171. Vers 160-171. Ἐνθα τις ἀγκυλότοξος, ἐρμῆαδιν σύννομος ὤλη, | παρθένος Ἀστακίδεσσιν ὁμότροφος ἦνθεε Νύμφαις | καλλιφύης Νίκαια, λαγωβόλος Ἄρτεμις ἄλλη. Autres comparaisons ou assimilations avec Artémis v. 186, 201 (le lion la prend pour Artémis); XVI, 125 (Ἀστακὶς ὀπλοτέρῃ πέλες Ἄρτεμις), 149, 168 (Ἀρτέμιδος συνάεθλος).

⁶⁴ Selon Memnon ce fut Satyros et il y en eut d'autres. Selon Nonnos, ce fut une Télète, XVI, 399-402: Ἐκ δὲ γάμου Βρομίῳ θεόσσυτος ἦνθεε κόρη | ἦν Τελετὴν ὀνόμηνεν αἰεὶ χαίρουσαν ἑορταῖς, | κορυὴν νυκτιχόρευτον, ἐφεσπομένην Διονύσῳ, | τερπομένην κροτάλοισι καὶ ἀμφιπλήγι βοείῃ. On voit par là et par ce qui précède la variété de ces légendes de fondation élaborées pendant l'époque grecque et romaine. Voir ci-après note 67.

⁶⁵ *Recueil*, n.54, 55 (Domitien), 78, 80 (Antonin le Pieux), 219 (Lucius Verus), 269 (Commode), 696 (Gordien).

distance, par les types officiels de la ville sur ses monnaies et par les vers du poète tardif.⁶⁶

Ainsi la femme chasserresse des monnaies, si elle n'est pas accompagnée d'un cervidé, doit-elle être normalement la nymphe Nikaia, et non pas Artémis. Ce fut bien dit par Drexler et par Imhoof-Blumer.⁶⁷ Pourtant des catalogues continuent à décrire 'Artémis', méconnaissant l'origine locale du monnayage. L'erreur est particulièrement regrettable pour la monnaie qui représente cette scène sous Valérien et Gallien, n.819-820: une chasserresse avec son arc, mais tourelée, donne la main au jeune Dionysos, debout devant elle, tenant le thyrses et accompagné de la panthère; l'inscription explique: *οἱ κτίσται*. C'est Nikaia, suivant Drexler et Imhoof-Blumer, et l'on voit la parfaite convenance de ce titre pour les deux personnages. Th. Reinach disait dans l'introduction: "Dionysos associé à Artémis ou Nicaea" (p. 396); mais dans la description du n.819, c'est "Artémis chasserresse, tourelée." C'est alors Artémis qui vivra, aux dépens de Nikaia, chez Head, chez W. Ruge, dans le catalogue de Von Aulock.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Voir spécialement l'article sur Nonnos et Akmonia de Phrygie cité plus haut.

⁶⁷ W. Drexler, *Z. f. Num.*, 13 (1885), *Bemerkungen zu einigen Münzen bei Cohen, Mionnet u.a.*, 286-289, a montré que divers types ne figuraient avec Dionysos ni Isis, ni Ariane, ni Tychè, mais la nymphe Nikaia, et que cette identification avait déjà été reconnue en 1698 par Buonarruotì s'appuyant sur Nonnos. Voir aussi *Lexikon* de Roscher, s.v. *Nikaia* (article de Wagner et, pour les monnaies, de Drexler); Imhoof-Blumer, *J. Intern. Num.*, 1 (1898), *Bithynische Münzen*, 25-27, qui reconnaît aussi, avec Drexler, la nymphe trônant avec Dionysos, tourelée et tenant le thyrses, ou bien avec lui sur un char tiré par des centaures et accompagné d'Éros et de Pan (Ariane selon le *Recueil*); cf. *Nymphen und Chariten* (1908), pp. 153-156. Il remarque justement, *loc. cit.*, 26, que ces images "font conclure qu'il circulait à Nicée d'autres légendes que celles qui sont connues par Nonnos et Memnon." Je dirai que ce "triomphe" s'accorde avec ce que fait entendre Memnon, à savoir qu'il y eut d'autres enfants que Satyros, c'est-à-dire que Nikaia vécut dès lors avec Dionysos. Imhoof-Blumer ne joint pas à cette série le type, sous Caracalla, où la figure tourelée, avec thyrses et canthare, a une ciste à ses pieds, avec ou sans serpent, ou bien verse là-dessus le contenu du canthare. Il y voit Dionysos. Mais le parallèle qu'il allègue, *ibid.*, 26, de "Dionysos tourelé à Téos" ne vaut pas; voir ci-dessus note 58. Les auteurs du *Recueil*, n.438-441, appellent cette femme Nicaea (c'est après Sestini). Cela me paraît juste et je croirais que la ciste est une allusion à Télétè, fille de Nikaia (voir note 64).

⁶⁸ Head, *HN*² (1912), 517; W. Ruge, *Nikaia*, 239; Von Aulock, *Sylloge, Nachträge, Pontus-Bithynia* (1967), 7082, avec renvoi à *Recueil*, 819, mais avec la fausse lecture "*Οικισται Νικαεων*", que dément la photographie publiée. Même erreur de lecture, que l'on rectifie aussi par la photographie, chez Imhoof-Blumer, *Nymphen und Chariten* (1908), p. 155, n.443, qui décrit justement: "Stehende Nikaia (als ἄλλη Ἀρτεμις)" et reproduit la monnaie de

Ainsi les monnaies, comme Dion de Pruse, s'accordent avec l'inscription de la porte de Lefkè pour montrer que c'est la ville de Nicée qui est d'origine divine, ἀπὸ Διονύσου καὶ Ἡρακλέους, et que ces termes ne s'appliquent pas à une ascendance divine de l'empereur Hadrien. Pour Nikaia et Dionysos le rôle des monnaies est au premier plan.⁶⁹

Il est encore un point qui peut, je crois, être éclairci. Ce qui est conservé au début de la ligne 2 de la porte de Lefkè a été expliqué de diverses façons. D'après la copie de Körte *ΗΓ.ΣΕ* (suivi de 24 lettres), Cagnat, après *δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας*, proposait: [τὸ] ἡ' γ.σε. Cela fut repoussé par W. Weber, qui fit connaître la proposition de son maître A. von Domaszewski: ἡγ[εμονεύοντος] Σε.. (nom du légat).⁷⁰ Schneider maintenant a cru lire: *ΗΓ..ΥΣΕ...ΣΤ* — 12 l. ... ἀπὸ Διονύσου. Je reconnais au début l'article ἡ, nécessaire avant l'origine divine de la ville. Je crois reconnaître ensuite, ce qui va très bien avant ἀπὸ Διονύσου, : εὔσε[βε]στ[άτη]. En effet, le titre se trouve dans l'inscription honorant Plautille: ἡ λαμπροτάτη καὶ μεγίστη κτλ. Αὐρηλιανῇ Ἀντωνινιανῇ, εὔσεβεστάτῃ Νικαίῳ πόλις. La piété des Nicéens apparaît plus tard encore, sur les émissions de Sévère Alexandre, dont le revers est tout entier occupé par ces titres dans une couronne de laurier:⁷¹ *Εὔσεβων*

Londres (qui a constitué aussi le n.819 du *Recueil*), "BMC Pontos, 175, 147 mit angeblich Artemis und Dionysos", "die ebenfalls als κτίστης bezeichnete Göttin der Londoner Münze kann nur die Nymphe darstellen, zu deren Ehren Dionysos die Stadt Nikaia erbaute. Dies hat schon Drexler, *Roschers Lex.* III 305, richtig erkannt" (la transcription *OIKISTAI* est donc chez lui un lapsus ou une faute d'impression).

⁶⁹ L'article de R. Hanslik, dans *RE*, s.v. *Nikaia* 1, n'est pas utilisable. Pour l'éponymie de la femme de Lysimaque, il ne connaît qu'Étienne de Byzance et Eustathe, mais pas Strabon. La longue partie sur les monnaies est une décoction de Drexler, comme d'ailleurs tant d'articles 'mythologiques' de cette Encyclopédie utilisent, sans mise au courant, les bons articles du *Lexique* de Roscher. Ici Hanslik a recopié avec zèle, en 1936, les références aux catalogues dont devaient se servir Drexler et Imhoof-Blumer à la fin du XIX^e siècle, non seulement Mionnet, si plein d'embûches, mais les catalogues du "Cabinet de M. de Magnoncour" par Adrien de Longpérier, de la "collection de Perikles Exereunotes" ou "Seguin, *Sel. num. ant.*, Paris, 1665". Tout cela était annulé par le *Recueil*, paru à Paris en 1910, dont Hanslik ignore l'existence. Il a laissé tomber, chez les auteurs dont il recopiait les références, le type des οἱ κτίσται avec Dionysos et Nikaia.

⁷⁰ *Loc. cit.*, 128, n.454.

⁷¹ Sur le procédé de 'style', voir ci-après dans la conclusion.

εὐγενῶν Νικαίων, n.621. Le titre est revendiqué ailleurs. Sous Gordien, Gaza en Palestine ἡ πόλις ἡ τῶν Γαζαίων, ἱερὰ καὶ ἄστυλος καὶ αὐτονόμος πιστὴ (καὶ) εὐσεβής, λαμπρὰ καὶ μεγάλη, dédie à Porto la statue de cet empereur, τὸν θεοφιλέστατον κοσμοκράτορα.⁷² En Cilicie, sous Hadrien et Sabine, la ville de Zéphyrion est 'pieuse': Ζεφυριωτῶν εὐσεβῶν.⁷³ Dans un village même de la Bithynie, aux environs de Nicomédie, nous avons reconnu ce nom: [ἡ κ]ώμη τῶν Εὐσεβῶν (εὐσεβῶν) Βυζαπενανῶν et supposé qu'il devait y avoir là un sanctuaire réputé.⁷⁴

Je ne dirai qu'un mot de l'adjectif *eugeneis* qui accompagne 'pieux'. Il glorifie la noblesse des origines.⁷⁵ C'est le début comme obligé du discours de Dion, pour faire accepter ses conseils à la ville de Nicée sur la concorde entre citoyens après des troubles, *Or.* 39, 1, après qu'il eut été nommé citoyen (comme il le fut aussi à Nicomédie): "Je me réjouis de l'honneur que vous m'avez fait, comme il est naturel de se réjouir pour un homme sensé honoré par une ville excellente et considérable, comme l'est votre ville pour la force et la grandeur, elle qui n'a été dépassé par aucune des villes illustres où que ce soit pour la noblesse de sa race et par la cohabitation d'une foule de gens; car il s'y est rassemblé les races les plus en vue, non pas venues d'ailleurs, communes et peu nombreuses, mais des Hellènes — et des premiers — et des Macédoniens; et avant tout elle eut comme fondateurs des héros et des dieux."⁷⁶ Le trait, 'les premiers des Hellènes', est toujours une

⁷² Pour Gaza comme pour Nicée, voir *J. Savants* 1973, 204.

⁷³ Imhoof-Blumer, *Z. f. Num.*, 3 (1876), 343, n.4 (Head, *HN*², 734). Pour Aigeai θεοφιλής, voir plus loin, vers la fin.

⁷⁴ *Bull. Épigr.* 1974, 579. Nous avons rapproché du début de l'ethnique le nom Βύζης à Thasos, qui se retrouve à Thessalonique (cf. *Rev. Phil.* 1974, 245), comme aussi le héros éponyme de Byzance. Ce doit être un nom thrace ou thraco-bithynien. Or, je retrouve les dernières syllabes du mot dans les villageois d'une même région de la Bithynie, les Μορζαπενανοί, *Bull. Épigr.* 1965, 391, aux environs de Kandira, au Nord de Nicomédie près de la Mer Noire. Nous avons là dégagé la première partie du mot en rapprochant le nom du roi paphlagonien Morzios. Il y a donc, après Μορζ- et Βυζ-, une finale commune -απενανοί.

⁷⁵ Voir déjà essentiellement *Opera Minora*, IV, 90-91; I, 361, n.27 (*Cent. Publ. Am. Num. Soc.* 1958); *Bull. Épigr.* 1972, 139; *J. Savants* 1973, 202-203, en parlant d'Aigeai de Cilicie; *BCH* 1977, *Documents d'Asie Mineure*, IV.

⁷⁶ Ἐγὼ χαίρω τιμώμενος ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ὥσπερ εἰκός ἐστι χαίρειν τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν σώφρονα τιμώμενον ὑπὸ πόλεως ἀγαθῆς καὶ λόγου ἀξίας, ὥσπερ ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις κατὰ τε ἰσχὺν καὶ μέγεθος, οὐδεμίας ἡττωμένη τῶν ὁποῖοτε ἐνδόξων γένους τε γενναιότητι καὶ πλήθους συνοικήσει, τῶν φανερωτάτων γενῶν οὐκ ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλων συνελθόντων φαύλων καὶ ὀλίγων, ἀλλὰ Ἑλλήνων τῶν πρώτων καὶ Μακεδόνων τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἡρώας τε καὶ θεοὺς οἰκιστὰς λαβοῦσα. Le titre *endoxos* est porté par des villes, comme Sidè en Pamphylie (λαμπροτάτης ἐνδόξου; *AE* = πρώτη ἐνδοξος), Pergè (λαμπρὰ, ἐνδοξος),

allusion aux 'nobles races helléniques': Athéniens, Spartiates, Argiens et aussi Arcadiens. De fait, des monnaies de Nicée nomment Thésée⁷⁷ et des légendes rattachaient le héros ou ses compagnons à des localités de la région, Pythopolis, Soloeis.⁷⁸

Nicée porte ces titres *κατὰ τὰ κρίματα τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων*.⁷⁹ Ils ne me semblent pas témoigner, comme on a pu le penser, d'un accord entre les villes sanctionné par les empereurs. Ils mettent en relief les décisions du pouvoir central. Nicée, d'après cela, ne se donne pas des titres qu'elle s'est arrogés; les empereurs ont rendu des jugements là-dessus. C'est comme un défi envers la rivale, et triomphant. Nicée a droit à ces titres le plus officiellement du monde. On y voit la tendance au recours à l'autorité centrale⁸⁰ et l'engrenage où sont prises les autorités romaines dans ces 'batailles' pour les titres;⁸¹ les questions brûlantes ont été résolues par des décisions impériales. J'ajoute que "les empereurs" ne sont pas deux empereurs ayant régné ensemble ou juste l'un après l'autre (Vespasien et Titus), mais le terme peut s'appliquer normalement à divers empereurs et à diverses sentences.⁸²

Le titre "première de la province" revient dans deux inscriptions de même formulaire remployées dans la muraille:⁸³

Aigeai de Cilicie (*ἐνδόξων* avec 5 autres titres; ci-après note 175), Syedra (*σεμνῆς ἐνδοξοτέρας*). Quant aux Macédoniens, la ville d'Aigeai de Cilicie a pour premier titre *Makedonikè* (voir plus loin); l'ethnique entre dans le double ethnique des villes de Lydie, comme Hyrcanis (*Hellenica*, VI, chap. II), en Phrygie Dokimeion, Peltai, Blaundos (cf. *J. Savants* 1973, 201-202). Pour Nicée, cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. *Νικαία*: *Βορτιαίων ἀποικος*; voir note 50.

⁷⁷ *Recueil*, n.274, sous Commode: *Θησέα Νικαιεῖς*. Cf. *Opera Minora*, IV, 90.

⁷⁸ Voir la note 75, pour Nicée spécialement. Voir surtout Plutarque, *Thésée*, 26; ce chapitre de Plutarque traite de la guerre contre les Amazones avec utilisation d'un Ménécraatès: *ἱστορίαν περὶ Νικαίας τῆς ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ πόλεως ἐκδεδωκώς*; les trois jeunes Athéniens Eunéon, Thoas et Soloeis, qui, après la mort de ce dernier, restèrent à gouverner le pays, ainsi qu'un Eupatride Hermos. Cette guerre de Thésée contre les Amazones a servi pour lier les Athéniens avec d'autres villes aussi de Bithynie, de Phrygie, de Lydie.

⁷⁹ Ces mots ont été lus dès le début et figurent dans l'édition de Franz.

⁸⁰ Je le marquais plus haut pour la monnaie représentant "Rome la métropole".

⁸¹ Voir plus loin sur la lettre d'Antonin aux Éphésiens.

⁸² Rappelons que Ernst Meyer, *Chiron*, 5 (1975), 393-402: *Augusti*, a relevé justement que dans des titres avec *τῶν Σεβαστῶν* il ne fallait pas nécessairement penser à un règne conjoint comme on le fait trop souvent, mais à une suite des empereurs.

⁸³ Schneider, *loc. cit.*, n.14 et 15.

	[Ἀγα]θῇ τύ[χη].		Ἀγαθ[ῇ τύχη].
	[Ἡ πρώτη τῆς]		Ἡ πρώ[τη τῆς]
	[ἐπαρχείας] πό-		ἐπαρ[χείας πό]-
4	[λις] Νείκαια εὐ-	4	λις Ν[είκαια]
	[χα]ρισ[τεῖ] [Γ]αίω		εὐ[χαριστεῖ]
	[Ἰο]υλ[ί]ω Βάσσω		Γα[ίω — — —]
	...Α..Α.ω κα[ι]		3 lignes disparues
8	lettres isolées sur 2 lignes		

Le personnage remercié par la ville fut gouverneur de la Bithynie au début du règne de Trajan.⁸⁴ La formule *εὐχαριστεῖ* est propre à l'époque impériale et entre dans un ensemble qui eut alors une très grande fortune dans les témoignages de reconnaissance aux dieux et aux hommes.⁸⁵

Sur toutes ces inscriptions la ville de Nicée est "première de la province". A la porte de Lefkè, la plus récente lecture donne aussi le titre de "métropole", dont Körte n'avait lu, avant τὰ κρίματα, que [ἡ πρώτη τῆς ἐπαρχείας] πό[λις]. Schneider ou Dalman donnent: *πρώτη Βιθυνίας καὶ Πόντου μητρόπολις*. Cette lecture étonne sur cette pierre "stark verwittert", et dans un passage qui, on le verra, fut effacé. L'absence de ce titre sur toute monnaie de Nicée étonne aussi; or, en ce cas, il ne peut y avoir choix parmi des titres; 'métropole', comme 'néocore', passe avant tout le reste; ce titre essentiel n'aurait pas été omis sur les monnaies. D'autre part, sous Trajan et Hadrien il y a un grand vide dans les émissions monétaires de Nicée. L'obtention de ce titre rendrait encore plus évidente la prétention de Nicée et la fureur de sa voisine, Nicomédie, la métropole. Enfin, dans le discours conciliant de Dion, le titre de métropole pour Nicomédie ne semble pas en question; il est *ἐξαιρετον* pour cette ville, spécial et réservé.⁸⁶ Il semble alors que le dédoublement du titre (car Nicomédie le garda toujours) n'a pu être accordé à Nicée que sous Trajan et Hadrien; sous ce dernier empereur, en tout cas, la ville l'aurait encore porté.⁸⁷ Je ne conclurai pas là-dessus, car mon étude peut s'en passer.

⁸⁴ On suggère 98-99 ou un an plus tôt. Voir Bosch, 88; D. Magie, *Roman rule in Asia Minor*, II, 1456-1458. Le titre *ἀνθυπάτω* ou *τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ* ne se concilierait pas aisément avec les lettres lues à la ligne 7.

⁸⁵ Pour les remerciements à des personnages, voir *Hellenica* X, 58-62 (les autres pages se rapportent aux documents religieux étudiés en détail) avec ces inscriptions de Nicée; cf. encore *Gnomon* 1959, 665, sur l'inscription *I. Didyma*, 335 b; *Bull. Épigr.* 1959, 5, p. 151; *Hellenica*, XI-XII, 27, n.4.

⁸⁶ On peut y voir aussi une assurance pour les Nicomédiens contre une revendication effective.

⁸⁷ Ce dernier semble avoir répandu également ses faveurs sur les deux villes. Cf. W. Weber, *loc. cit.*, 127: *Νικομήδειαν σεισμῷ καταπτωθεῖσαν καὶ Νίκαιαν*

A. Körte, comme ensuite Schneider, a restitué le titre ἡ πρώτη τῆς ἐπαρχείας πόλις Νίκαια dans ces diverses inscriptions.⁸⁸ Cependant Schneider fit une constatation pour cinq d'entre elles. Pour le n° 15, "les lignes 2 et 3 ont été martelées, mais sont lisibles de façon certaine". Dans le n° 14 "est à restituer dans le martelage, d'après le passage correspondant de l'inscription suivante: ἡ πρώτη τῆς ἐπαρχείας."⁸⁹ A la porte de Lefke, dans l'inscription de la frise n° 11, l.1, "le titre honorifique τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἐπαρχείας est martelé"; dans l'inscription d'Hadrien, on a martelé depuis πρώτη Βιθυνίας jusqu'à αὐτοκρατόρων y compris. Sur le côté ville, on a martelé depuis πρώτη. Ces notations n'ont suscité chez l'auteur aucune réflexion. Or, il faut tirer la conclusion: régulièrement le titre a été martelé.⁹⁰ Il ne s'agit pas seulement du titre de métropole, s'il avait bien été gravé, mais de celui de "première de la province." On n'a pas touché, sur la porte de Lefke, à l'origine divine de la ville: ἀπὸ Διόνυσου καὶ Ἡρακλέους. Le martelage régulier du titre⁹¹ n'a certainement pas été effectué de bon gré et sur l'initiative de la ville elle-même. Il fut d'ailleurs, semble-t-il, exécuté de mauvais gré; ordinairement, les éditeurs ont pu quand même lire le titre: "ausradiert, aber sicher lesbar" pour le n° 15.⁹² Ce fut une contrainte imposée par le pouvoir central et par les ordres du gouverneur, pour que Nicomédie gardât seule le titre disputé et à la grande joie de cette ville.

Sur la base d'une statue honorant Plautille, femme de Caracalla et

πόλεις Βιθυνίας χρήμασιν ἀνεστήσατο (Syncelle, la version arménienne et Jérôme); Ἀδριανὸς ἐν Νικομηδείᾳ καὶ Νικαίᾳ ἀγορὰς ἐποίησε καὶ τετραπλατείας καὶ τὰ τείχη τὰ πρὸς τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ (Chron. Pasch.).

⁸⁸ C'est le terme "restituer" qu'emploient les divers éditeurs et aussi W. Ruge, *Nikaia*, 230.

⁸⁹ C. Cichorius, donnant cette inscription en majuscules *Ath. Mitt.* 1889, 243 ("unvollständig", Schneider), signalait un martelage.

⁹⁰ Si l'on n'a pas dit la même chose pour les deux inscriptions de la porte d'Istanbul, c'est que le procédé de 'gravure' ne permettait pas facilement en ce cas de constater le 'martelage', l'attention n'étant pas attirée sur la valeur de ces suppressions.

⁹¹ On peut employer ce mot 'régulier'. Il n'importerait pas que telle inscription ait échappé au martelage.

⁹² Dans un bourg turc entre Smyrne et Colophon, lors d'un de nos arrêts en route vers Claros, je remarquai sur quelque petit édifice d'intérêt public l'inscription de fondation, qui avait été effacée après la révolution militaire qui mit alors fin au régime du "parti démocrate" et d'Adnan Menderes. On avait effacé le nom de ce dernier et, si je me souviens bien, celui du *vali* de Smyrne en fonction sous ce régime. Mais la *damnatio memoriae* n'était pas si totale qu'on ne pût lire aisément les noms voués à l'oubli. La vie est longue et les péripéties politiques sont nombreuses et attendues.

filles de Plautien, épousées en 202 et exilées en 205,⁹³ la ville de Nicée porte des titres nombreux et ronflants;⁹⁴ j'ai déjà allégué *eusébestatè*; je citerai les autres ci-après. Il n'y a pas celui de "première de la province". Or, ce titre n'était pas tombé en désuétude. Nicomédie l'affiche dans une inscription de la ville honorant Julia Domna: ἡ με[γίστη] μητρόπολις καὶ πρώτη Βειθυνίας τε καὶ Πόντου ... Νεικομήδεια.⁹⁵ Nicée n'avait plus le droit de s'en parer. Le martelage à Nicée se place ainsi entre Hadrien (le titre gravé sur la porte de Lefke) et Caracalla-Plautille.

Ce n'est pas Antonin le Pieux qui prit la décision. Une inscription d'Éphèse,⁹⁶ — que cette ville fit graver au moins en trois exemplaires qui nous sont parvenus⁹⁷ — montre son attitude paisible en ce genre d'affaires. Les Éphésiens s'étaient plaints que les Pergaméniens et les Smyrniens ne leur avaient pas donné dans une correspondance les titres auxquels il avaient droit. L'empereur a constaté que les Pergaméniens avaient bien employé les titres que lui-même avait prescrits en faveur des Éphésiens.⁹⁸ Quant aux Smyrniens, c'est sans doute par hasard qu'ils les ont omis dans un décret sur l'acceptation d'une fête; mais à l'avenir c'est de bon gré qu'ils se montreront bienveillants, si du moins les Éphésiens, de leur côté, n'oublient pas, dans leurs lettres à Smyrne, de quelle façon il convient d'agir et ce qui a été décidé.⁹⁹

La lettre est un monument de douceur, d'apaisement, de discrets

⁹³ Le nom de Plautille fut alors martelé.

⁹⁴ Schneider, n.16. L'inscription est expliquée et reproduite plus loin.

⁹⁵ CIG, 3771 (IGR, III, 6). Les titres complets seront donnés plus loin, avec aussi ceux d'une inscription de Delphes qui est antérieure.

⁹⁶ Gr. Inscr. Br. Mus., III, 489, avec commentaire de Hicks; *Sylloge*³, 849, avec note abondante sur l'affaire et sur les disputes pour les titres entre villes, et avec les textes bien connus de Dion Chrysostome, Dion Cassius et Aelius Aristide.

⁹⁷ A "l'Odéon", près du prytanée, et (J. Keil, *Sitz. Bayer. Akad.* 1956, III, p. 8, note 1) au gymnase du port. D'autre part, le fragment du Musée Britannique 490, non sans intérêt pour combler avec sûreté deux lacunes, fut récolté par Wood "à Éphèse".

⁹⁸ L. 8 sqq.: Περγαμην[ὸς ἀπεδε?]ξάμην ἐν τοῖς π[ρὸς ὑμᾶς γ]ράμμασιν χρησαμένους τοῖς ὀνόμασιν οἷς ἐγὼ χρῆσθαι τὴν πόλιν τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀπεφηνάμην. Le dernier mot est assuré par le fragment 490 du Musée Britannique. L'inscription du gymnase du port donne-t-elle le mot complet pour le verbe qui suit Περγαμηνούς? On n'attend pas le mot restitué, mais "j'ai constaté". Que donne l'exemplaire du gymnase du port?

⁹⁹ L. 10 sqq.: Οἶμαι δὲ καὶ Σμυρναίους κατὰ τύχην παραλελοιπέναι ταῦτα ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς συνθυσίας ψηφίσματι, τοῦ λοιποῦ δὲ ἐκόντας εὐγνωμονήσein, ἂν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν τοῖς πρὸς αὐτοὺς γράμμασιν ὃν προσήκει τρόπον καὶ κέκριται τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν φαίνεσθαι μεμνημένοι. L'avant-dernier mot est assuré par le fragment 490 du Musée Britannique.

rappels à l'ordre, et aussi de bonne rhétorique. Elle montre bien quelle est en ces affaires l'intervention décisive de l'empereur: il a décidé lui-même de l'usage des *ὀνόματα* entre les trois villes et il y a eu décision du pouvoir, *κέκριται*. On voit bien l'engrenage où les autorités romaines ont été prises. Les villes ont dû d'abord se donner elles-mêmes des titres à leur fantaisie et pour leur gloriole de vanité.¹⁰⁰ Mais ces querelles tournant à la *stasis*, ils ont dû réglementer l'usage des titres.¹⁰¹ Antonin le Pieux le fit avec une douceur qui recouvre la condescendance. D'autres se fâcheront, empereurs ou gouverneurs. Ainsi dans un fragment à Laodicée du Lycos *περὶ πρωτίων* il est question "d'une gloire récente", d'une "rivalité vaine", *ματαία φιλονικεία*, de "mettre fin à la contestation" et de se rendre "plus dignes", *σεμνοτέρους*.¹⁰²

D'ailleurs ce brutal changement — martelage systématique du titre, — ne se conçoit guère qu'en un temps de crise.

Lors du conflit entre Septime Sévère et Pescennius Niger, après la victoire des généraux de Septime Sévère dans la région de Cyzique, il y eut un grand combat, avec des fortunes diverses et le succès final des Sévériens. Il eut lieu "dans les défilés entre Nicée et Kios",¹⁰³ là où coule l'émissaire du lac de Nicée, vers l'endroit où s'étend la riche et fertile plaine à l'Ouest du lac de Nicée, vers Bazarköy, devenu Orhangazi;¹⁰⁴ en effet Dion Cassius parle de soldats (de Niger) qui tiraient de l'arc depuis des barques sur le lac. Les soldats de Niger eussent été exterminés si la nuit noire n'était survenue et qu'ils aient

¹⁰⁰ Certes Rome a toujours contrôlé ou décerné les titres qui tiennent à l'administration (métropole; chef-lieu du *conventus*) ou qui impliquent un temple provincial pour l'empereur dans telle ville (néocore).

¹⁰¹ Pour la néocorie d'une grande divinité locale, et non plus de l'empereur, Caracalla est amené à intervenir à Éphèse par une subtile comédie; cf. *Rev. Phil.* 1967, 45-57.

¹⁰² J'en ai traité dans *Laodicée du Lycos*, pp. 287-288. On a vu plus haut le titre de *semmè* comme un éloge officiel de la ville de Syedra. Ci-après, note 185, Hermoupolis la Grande est *semmotatè*.

¹⁰³ Dion Cassius, 74 (75), 6, 4-6; *μεταξὺ τῶν στενῶν τῆς τε Νικαίας καὶ τῆς Κίου*.

¹⁰⁴ Sur cette plaine, sa richesse et son humidité, cf. *Études Anat.*, 242-243 (dédicace de paysans et villages); *Bull. Épigr.* 1972, 478 (culture du riz à l'époque turque sur ce sol riche, bien irrigué et malsain pour la santé). Notons pour la dédicace *IGR*, III, 17; *Ét. Anat.*, 242-243, qu'avec Zeus et Déméter Karpophoros, il s'agit bien des dieux des paysans, et non, avec W. Weber, *loc. cit.*, 128, n.450, "gewiss" d'Hadrien et de Sabine; Zeus 'Ολύμπιος καὶ Ἀστραπαῖος n'est pas un 'Hadrien tonnant', mais "le Zeus qui apporte, avec l'éclair, l'orage et la pluie fertilisante"; j'ai cité *ibid.*, n.4, sur l'autre rive du lac de Nicée, avant une inscription honorifique locale, l'acclamation et prière: [*Μέγας*] Zeus Ἀστραπαῖος.

pu gagner la ville proche,¹⁰⁵ à l'autre extrémité du lac. Désormais l'Asie Mineure était ouverte aux Sévériens jusqu'aux défilés du Taurus, au Gülek Boğaz, par la grande route de la Lycaonie.¹⁰⁶

Ainsi Nicée avait servi de refuge aux restes de l'armée vaincue. Citoyen de Nicée, Dion est discret sur l'attitude de sa patrie en ce conflit; il écrivait d'ailleurs dans une position officielle, et alors que l'affaire était passée depuis longtemps et calmée assez vite par une politique d'apaisement, on le verra.¹⁰⁷

Mais nous savons par Hérodien, III, 2, 7-9, que Nicée avait pris parti ouvertement pour Pescennius Niger; son attitude avait été dictée par "sa haine envers Nicomédie". En effet, nous dit l'historien, "quand circula la nouvelle de la victoire de Sévère (à Cyzique), aussitôt chez tous ces peuples la sédition (*stasis*) et la diversité de jugement s'abattirent sur les villes, non point tant par haine contre les empereurs en guerre ou par dévouement pour eux que par jalousie et querelle entre elles, et par envie, et pour la destruction de leurs frères de race.¹⁰⁸ C'est la vieille maladie des Grecs qui, toujours en discorde les uns contre les autres et voulant détruire ceux qui paraissaient dominer, ont épuisé la Grèce." Ainsi sont-ils devenus esclaves des Romains. "Cette maladie de la

¹⁰⁵ *Κἂν πανωλεθρία τούτους διέφθειραν, εἰ μὴ ἡ πόλις ἐγγὺς ἦν καὶ νῦν σκοτεινὴ ἐγένετο.*

¹⁰⁶ Dion Cassius, *ibid.*, 7; Hérodien, III, 2, 10.

¹⁰⁷ Sénateur, il fut préteur en 194. Il eut son premier consulat, sans doute comme suffect, en 205-206; faisant partie du *consilium principis* et *amicus* de Sévère, comme de Caracalla, il eut son second consulat, ordinaire et avec l'empereur, sous Sévère Alexandre en 229, après avoir été gouverneur d'Afrique, de Dalmatie et de Pannonie Supérieure. C'est après ce consulat qu'il se retira dans sa patrie pour y finir ses jours. Sur toute sa carrière, voir F. Millar, *A study of Cassius Dio* (Oxford, 1964), notamment 7-27, 138-150 (sa faveur sous Septime Sévère), 193-194 (tableau de sa chronologie, vie et rédaction de l'œuvre historique), 206-207 (ses consulats). D'ailleurs, ce qui importe, c'est que ces livres de Dion Cassius durent être rédigés peu après le règne de Caracalla et reflètent l'époque de Septime Sévère et de Caracalla, *ibid.*, 30-32, 38-40; 194. D'autre part, ce haut fonctionnaire des empereurs devait voir d'un œil distant les querelles de titres des villes grecques (cf. plus haut l'attitude des magistrats romains d'après Dion Chrysostome, n. 20; pour Dion Cassius lui-même et ce qu'il dit des noms dynastiques assumés par les villes en son temps, voir la note 132), fût-ce celles de sa propre patrie, en dehors de laquelle se déroula presque toute son existence jusqu'à son ultime retraite et, quand il écrivait, l'histoire des rapports aigus de Nicée et de Nicomédie était passée, de même que la guerre entre Pescennius Niger et Sévère. Celle-ci n'avait pu manquer dans le premier ouvrage historique de Dion sur les *polémoi* et les *staseis* après la mort de Commode, qu'il a dû présenter à Sévère à Rome en 197 (cf. *ibid.*, 29, 193).

¹⁰⁸ *Οὐχ οὕτως τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμοῦντας βασιλεῖς ἀπεχθεῖα τινὶ ἢ εὐνοίᾳ ὥς ζήλῳ καὶ ἔριδι τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλας φθόνῳ τε καὶ καθαιρέσει τῶν ὁμοφύλων.*

jalousie et de l'envie passa aux villes de notre temps dans leur apogée.¹⁰⁹ Or donc en Bithynie, aussitôt après les événements de Cyzique, les Nicomédiens s'attachaient à Sévère et envoyaient des ambassadeurs, accueillant l'armée et promettant de tout fournir. Mais les Nicéens, par haine des Nicomédiens, prenaient le parti contraire et recevaient l'armée de Niger, à savoir ceux qui dans leur fuite cherchèrent refuge auprès d'eux et ceux qui avaient été envoyés par Niger pour garder la Bithynie".¹¹⁰ "Ainsi de part et d'autre, ayant pour base ces villes comme des camps,¹¹¹ ils s'affrontèrent les uns les autres et, dans une grande bataille, l'emportèrent largement les soldats de Sévère." De même, il y eut discorde entre les villes par suite de la même jalousie "en Syrie les Laodicéens prenant parti par haine des Antiochéens, en Phénicie les Tyriens par haine des Bérytiens."¹¹²

Dans le conflit en Asie Mineure, les deux villes de Bithynie jouèrent donc un rôle actif, par haine l'une de l'autre; ce fut un fait marquant, qui poussait les deux villes au premier plan. Le chapitre d'Hérodien fournit la toile de fond aux rivalités numismatiques et épigraphiques et donne l'explication du martelage du titre "premiers de la province". C'est la crise au cours de laquelle Nicomédie, associée au vainqueur,¹¹³ eut l'occasion de se venger de Nicée et d'abaisser sa rivale. L'autorité romaine abolit alors la duplication du titre "premiers de la province"¹¹⁴ et fit procéder aux martelages outrageants, et sur la porte même de la

¹⁰⁹ Τὸ δὲ πάθος τοῦτο τοῦ ζήλου καὶ φθόνου μετέλθεν ἐς τὰς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀκμαζούσας πόλεις.

¹¹⁰ Κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν Βιθυνίαν εὐθὺς μετὰ τὰ ἐν Κυζίκῳ Νικομηδεῖς μὲν Σεβήρῳ προσέθεντο καὶ πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον, τὴν τε στρατιὰν ὑποδεχόμενοι καὶ πάντα παρέξιν ὑπισχνούμενοι, Νικαιεῖς δὲ τῷ πρὸς Νικομηδέας μίσει τὰναντία ἐφρόνουν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τοῦ Νίγρου ὑπεδέχοντο, εἴ τέ τινες ἐκ τῶν φυγόντων κατέφευγον πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς πεμφθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ Νίγρου φρουρεῖν Βιθυνίαν.

¹¹¹ Ἐκατέρωθεν οὖν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ὡς ἀπὸ στρατοπέδων ὁρμώμενοι συνέβαλον ἀλλήλοις.

¹¹² Λαοδικεῖς μὲν κατὰ Συρίαν Ἀντιοχέων μίσει, κατὰ δὲ Φοινίκην Τύριοι Βηρυτιῶν ἔχθει. J'ai renoncé dans la traduction à trouver deux mots différents dans ce vocabulaire de la haine, μῖσος, ἔχθος.

¹¹³ Il n'importe pas que tout au début, avant le débarquement des troupes sévériennes, la ville ait frappé une émission au nom de Pescennius Niger, *Recueil*, n.168. Il en fut de même ailleurs; les monnaies durent être rapidement retirées de la circulation; si Nicée en avait frappé, cette ville dut être la plus empressée à les faire disparaître. Celles de Nicomédie portent une contremarque, une tête impériale, qui doit être, je conjecture, celle de Sévère.

¹¹⁴ Ainsi un peu plus tard Macrin se vengeait de Pergame en lui enlevant tous ses titres; la ville était nue, ὁ δῆμος ὁ Περγαμηνῶν; voir la démonstration de Chr. Habicht, *Alt. Pergamon*, VIII, 3 (l'Asclépieion), pp. 73-74; aussi, d'après Pick, Éphèse sous le même Macrin.

ville.¹¹⁵ Les textes littéraires se combinent de façon parfaite avec les monnaies¹¹⁶ et avec les martelages d'inscriptions. On mesure l'importance de ces mesquines revendications de gloriole; la souris accoucha d'une montagne.

L'empereur, dit Dion Cassius, après sa victoire définitive, "villes et particuliers, il châtiât les uns, récompensait les autres."¹¹⁷ Un châtiment, ce fut d'abolir le titre de "premiers de la province" à Nicée, en donnant pleine satisfaction à Nicomédie qu'il récompensait ainsi. Voilà "la bataille pour un nom" entrée dans la grande histoire et voilà un grand butin de gloire haineuse récolté par Nicomédie. Ce fut pour Nicée la fin de ce titre et de son prestige, et il ne lui sera pas rendu.

Pourtant l'empereur fut ensuite indulgent et assez vite. Ce n'était pas comme pour Antioche, ni pour Byzance, la fière cité du Bosphore, qui avait soutenu héroïquement un siège de trois ans, même après la disparition de Pescennius Niger;¹¹⁸ elles perdirent le statut de ville.¹¹⁹ Dion Cassius de Nicée n'a pas manqué d'insérer une anecdote sur les poissons du lac, qui montre Sévère et son préfet du prétoire Plautien séjournant à Nicée, donc avant 203.¹²⁰ Mais le plus clair, ce sont les titres ronflants de la ville dans l'inscription pour Plautille à laquelle j'ai

¹¹⁵ On peut rapprocher le martelage de *Καισαρεῖς* accolé à l'ethnique *Σαρδιανοί*; cf. *Hellenica*, II, 77, n.4, et l'explication que j'ai proposée *Annuaire Collège de France 73^e année* (1973), 485-486. A Laodicée du Lycos, j'ai montré que le titre de la ville *néôcoros* avait été martelé pour être remplacé par une épithète moins brillante, *philosébastos*, *Laodicée du Lycos*, 282-283 (cf. 288-289); là ce n'est que le soin d'un épigraphiste moderne qui peut lire le titre supprimé en travaillant sur la pierre à sa disposition.

¹¹⁶ La monnaie de Nicomédie sous Commode, *Recueil*, n.166, avec *μητροπ(όλεως) νεωκόρου καὶ πρώτης Νευκομηδείας*, même en émission isolée, montre que, dans la période précédant le grand conflit, Nicomédie n'oubliait pas la question des *prôteia*. La ville réagit contre la faveur accordée par Commode à Nicée (voir plus loin). Elle ne laisse pas oublier son titre; elle sera axée là-dessus pour saisir l'occasion de porter un coup à Nicée par l'abolition du titre.

¹¹⁷ 74, 8, 4: *ὁ Σευήρος τὰς πόλεις τοὺς τε ἰδιώτας τοὺς μὲν ἐκόλαζε, τοὺς δὲ ἡμείβετο.*

¹¹⁸ J'ai eu l'occasion, *Rev. Phil.* 1967, 26-27, de mettre en valeur un passage de Philostrate: c'eût été pour les juges du concours pythique faire injure au nom romain que de couronner et de faire proclamer un acteur citoyen de Byzance assiégée, la formule traditionnelle étant *Κλήμενς Βυζάντιος ἐνίκᾳ* ou bien, au présent, *νικᾷ*.

¹¹⁹ Pour Antioche, voir G. Downey, *A history of Antioch in Syria* (1961), 241-242. Son titre de 'métropole' passa à Laodicée, qui devint la capitale de la Coelé-Syrie, la province ayant été partagée en deux. La ville devint un village de Laodicée. Les concours Olympia furent enlevés à Antioche.

¹²⁰ 76, 15, 3, avec mon commentaire *Lettres byzantines*, p. 8, sur ce muge du lac de Nicée.

fait allusion. On y lit:¹²¹ Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. [Φουλο]υίαν Πλαυτίλλαν (ces noms martelés) Σεβαστὴν ἢ λαμπροτάτῃ καὶ μεγίστῃ, φίλῃ καὶ σύμμαχος, πιστῇ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἐκ προγόνων οἰκεία τῷ οἴκῳ τῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων, Αὐρηλιανῇ Ἀντωνινιανῇ, εὐσεβεστάτῃ, Νικαίῶν πόλιν, διέπον[τος] τὴν ἐπαρχίαν Τ... Καλλιπιανοῦ Μ— τοῦ λαμπροτάτο[υ] — ..ονο...ονε —.¹²² L'inscription, on l'a vu, se place nécessairement entre 202, mariage de Plautille avec Caracalla, et 205, son renvoi et son exil.

Schneider donnait avec raison ce commentaire: "sonne de façon amplement étonnante après la prise de parti passionnée pour Niger."¹²³ Mais il faut pousser plus loin.¹²⁴ J'ai utilisé plus haut le titre *eusébestatè*, le retrouvant dans l'inscription pour Hadrien à la porte de Lefkè. Les titres *lamprotatè*, *megistè* paraîtront sur des monnaies d'après le milieu du III^e siècle.¹²⁵ La ville est "amie et alliée des Romains", titre qu'ont bien des villes à travers l'empire. "Fidèle au peuple des Romains", ce titre pourrait d'abord surprendre;¹²⁶ mais si Nicée prit le mauvais parti dans un conflit entre deux concurrents à l'empire, elle n'était pas en rébellion contre les Romains. Je l'ai dit à propos de ce titre à Aigai de Cilicie: "toujours fidèle à Rome, elle construisait des navires pour Pompée; elle adoptait une ère du vainqueur de Pompée à Pharsale, automne 47 a. C."¹²⁷

Le titre dont le fondement n'apparaît pas, c'est ἐκ προγόνων οἰκεία τῷ οἴκῳ τῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων. On ne voit pas de rapport entre la ville et la dynastie sévérienne avec son origine. J'en ai déjà parlé pour cette inscription même.¹²⁸ Celle-ci m'a permis de proposer la même ex-

¹²¹ Schneider, n.16; mon étude *Hellenica*, I, 58-59, dans le chapitre *La titulature de la ville de Sardes*; cf. *ibid.*, II, 145-147.

¹²² Aurait-on [ἡγεμ]όνο[s]? D. Magie, *Roman rule*, II, 1592, ne date pas ce Tiberius Claudius Callipianus M— — Italicus (le nom d'après *IG*, II², 4215) à l'intérieur de la période entre 199 et 218. L'inscription de Nicée permet de préciser: entre 202 et 205. La publication de cette inscription de Nicée permet de dissiper les incertitudes de E. Groag, *Die röm. Reichsbeamten von Achaia* (1939), 133: pour l'inscription d'Athènes selon Dittenberger sous Sévère et Caracalla, mais rien n'exclut absolument le milieu du III^e siècle.

¹²³ "Z. 6 ff. klingt nach der heftigen Parteinahme für Niger reichlich merkwürdig."

¹²⁴ On verra aussi plus loin quelle fut l'indulgence rapide du vainqueur.

¹²⁵ Voir plus loin dans la conclusion.

¹²⁶ Sur ce titre, voir *Hellenica*, I, 58, note 8; le plus souvent avec 'amie et alliée' (Nicomédie, Sidè, Aigai, Ascalon, Diocésarée de Galilée, Ilion?); II, 146 (Komama de Pisidie, Gaza citée plus haut, Diocésarée de Cilicie); *J. Savants* 1973, 203.

¹²⁷ *J. Savants* 1973, 203.

¹²⁸ *Hellenica*, I, 57-58; II, 145-146.

pression οἰκεία τῷ οἴκῳ τῶν Σεβαστῶν dans la titulature de Sardes au temps de Caracalla aussi,¹²⁹ ce qui a été confirmé par une inscription complète surgie postérieurement.¹³⁰ La valeur de οἰκεία n'est pas celle de συγγενής, comme était Ilion; Claude considère la ville d'Alexandrie comme ἐκ προγόνων οἰκείας ἡμῖν ὑπαρχούσης; elle est "familiale, amie proche".¹³¹ Nicée, en tout cas, est réconciliée avec la dynastie sévérienne. Au point même d'avoir eu la faveur de porter des noms dynastiques: Αὐρηλιανή Ἀντωνινιανή.¹³² Cela établit un lien avec Caracalla précisément, et ce fut sans doute en son honneur, plutôt que pour Élagabal, que furent institués les Ἀντωνείνεια ἐν Νεικέα comme nous l'apprend une base de Delphes pour un trompette ou un héraut.¹³³ On peut alors se demander si ce n'est pas grâce à Caracalla lui-même que Nicée a pu se faire pardonner vite sa prise de parti pour Pescennius Niger. Peut-on suggérer même que l'impératrice Plautille, ici remerciée, intervint dans cette affaire? Il faut marquer d'ailleurs que, même pour Antioche, le châtement ne dura pas longtemps et qu'on attribuait cette réhabilitation à l'intervention de Caracalla auprès de son père.¹³⁴

¹²⁹ *Opera Minora*, III, 1607 (*Rev. Arch.* 1936), repoussant [ιδί]as, évoquant οἰκείας; *Hellenica*, I, 56-59, le parallèle de Nicée avec οἰκεία.

¹³⁰ *Rev. Phil.* 1967, 48, n.6, le texte intact, à Sardes même, οἰκεία τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοκράτορος. Ces mots signalés d'après la photographie (publiée dans *Archaeology*, 1961) *Bull. Épigr.* 1961, 657.

¹³¹ Cf. *Hellenica*, II, 145-146, avec aussi à Cos un document où l'empereur se lamente sur leur ville, victime d'un tremblement de terre, ὡς οἰκητοράτην. Dans le Second Discours à Tarse, 34,7, Dion de Pruse rapporte l'attitude d'Auguste envers la ville: τὸν δεύτερον Καίσαρα ὑπὲρ πάντας ἔσχετε οἰκείως διακείμενον.

¹³² Il s'agit de noms dynastiques qui ont une vraie valeur comme Ἀδριανή Κίος ou comme Σεβαστή Πάφος, ou les Sébastè de Thessalie que j'expliquerai prochainement dans tout leur entourage comme je l'avais promis. Nous n'en sommes pas encore au chapelet de noms dynastiques des villes de Cilicie au III^e siècle; cf. *Bull. Épigr.* 1970, 407, sur le passage de Dion Cassius 54, 23, 7-8.

¹³³ *Comptes rendus Acad. Inscr.* 1970, 20, l.18. Une tribu Aurélianè est connue par trois inscriptions de Nicée; cf. Schneider, *loc. cit.*, n.34, qui rapproche *Ath. Mitt.* 1905 et 1911, et qui conclut que la tribu n'est pas aussi tardive qu'Aurélien. Je l'attribue à Caracalla, comme le nom de la ville elle-même.

¹³⁴ "Une fois son autorité établie de façon ferme, Septimius adopte une politique qui lui concilie l'opinion provinciale, avec une faveur marquée pour l'Afrique, pays de sa naissance, et la Syrie, pays d'origine de sa femme Julia Domna" (G. Downey, *loc. cit.*, 242). Dès la fin de 201 l'empereur rendait visite à Antioche et, au 1^{er} janvier 202, Caracalla y prenait la toge virile et les deux empereurs inaugurent là leur consulat joint. En 202, des monnaies d'Antioche célébraient la Tychè de la ville, signe de réhabilitation, et l'empereur faisait construire des édifices. On disait que Caracalla était intervenu auprès de Septime Sévère pour faire rendre à la ville ses anciens droits (G. Downey, *ib.*, 242-243) C'est l'Histoire Auguste, *Caracalla*, 1, qui dit: *Antiochiensibus et Byzantiis*

Le titre de "première de la province", sans parler de métropole, a disparu pour toujours. Il est intéressant de comparer à la même époque la série de titres de Nicomédie d'après une inscription honorant Julia Domna: Ἰουλίαν Αὐγούσταν Σεβ(αστήν) μητέρα στρατοπέδων ἡ με[ρίστη] μητρόπολις καὶ πρώτη Βειθυνίας τε καὶ Πόντου Ἀδριανὴ Σεουηριανὴ δις νεωκόρος Ν[ε]ικομήδεια, ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος, φίλη, πιστὴ καὶ σύμμαχος ἄνωθε τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίων.¹³⁵ La ville est métropole et elle a, seule désormais, le titre de 'première de la Bithynie et du Pont'. Si Nicée est Aurélianè Antôninianè d'après Caracalla, Nicomédie est Sévérianè d'après Septime Sévère; comme si Sévère avait récompensé Nicomédie de sa loyauté et de son concours par ce titre, tandis que l'autre empereur, en second parce qu'il est le fils, consolait Nicée de ses déboires par l'octroi de son nom à lui. Nicomédie rappelait aussi son

interventu suo iura vetusta restituit, quibus iratus fuit Severus quod Nigrum iuverant. C'est un parallèle exact à ce que j'ai supposé pour Nicée et qui me semble confirmer mon analyse; il explique et le nouveau nom de la ville, *Aurelianè Antoninianè*, et la création de la tribu dans la ville réhabilitée, et les concours *Antonieia*. A Byzance, Sévère avait détruit les murailles et fait de la cité un village attribué à Périnthe après avoir détruit théâtres, bains, etc.; puis, sur l'intervention de Caracalla, il rendit ses droits à la ville et y fit construire des édifices; il suffit de renvoyer à l'ouvrage de C. De la Berge, *De rebus Byzantiorum ante Constantinum* (1878), 41-42, et parmi les textes anciens à la Souda, s.v. Σεβήρος (éd. Adler, IV, pp. 334-335) et aux *Patria* de Constantinople d'Hesychius (éd. Preger, pp. 15-16). C'est en l'honneur de Caracalla que la ville s'appela Antonina (Antonia) sous les règnes de Sévère et de Caracalla (Hesychius et autres, mais les monnaies n'ont jamais porté, même sous ces empereurs, que l'ethnique *Βυζαντίων*; il en est de même pour Aurélianè Antôninianè à Nicée); en son honneur aussi la ville célébra des concours *Antoninia Sebastà* sous Caracalla, Élagabal et Sévère Alexandre, qui devinrent de simples *Sebastà* sous Sévère Alexandre encore, Maximinus, Gordien, Volusien et Valérien-Gallien (cf. E. Schönert-Geiss, *Die Münzprägung von Byzantion*, II, *Kaiserzeit*, pp. 39-42, qui demande diverses corrections; ainsi sur la chronologie et les bêtes sauvages sur des monnaies (pp. 41-42) qui ne peuvent avoir aucun rapport avec les Sébastà, mais entraient dans le programme de *munera* offerts par les grands-prêtres du culte impérial; il faut utiliser aussi les inscriptions; ainsi le héraut Valerius Eclectus de Sinope (*IG*, II², 3169-3170; L. Moretti, *Iscr. agon. gr.*, 90), Σεβαστὰ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, après le milieu du III^e siècle; le pentathle de Cyzique Métrodôros (*CIG*, 3676; *IGR*, IV, 161) Βυζάντιν Σεβαστὰ; l'homme étant un Aurelius, l'inscription est postérieure à 212. Sur une émission sous Septime Sévère, l'image de l'empereur faisant une libation sur un autel est accompagnée de la légende *κτίσις* (Schönert-Geiss, *loc. cit.*, n.1466); c'est la nouvelle fondation de la ville après ses malheurs. Le cas de Nicée ajoute une touche à la politique de Sévère envers les villes qui avaient soutenu Pescennius Niger.

¹³⁵ *CIG*, 3771, d'après la copie du comte Vidua et l'édition de Letronne (*IGR*, III, 6).

titre nouveau de 'deux fois néocore', si apprécié comme on l'a vu par ses monnaies. 'Sacrée et asylos' est particulière à elle, en face de Nicée. Elle aussi est "amie, fidèle et alliée des Romains"; ce n'est pas sans intention qu'elle ajoute *ἄνωθε*, "depuis longtemps"; on a admis que c'était depuis la constitution de la province de Bithynie.¹³⁶

Une autre inscription de Nicomédie, trouvée à Delphes, est un peu antérieure. Elle honore un aulète vainqueur en de nombreux concours, dont naturellement ceux de Delphes. Elle n'est connue que par Cyriaque d'Ancône.¹³⁷ La ville donne tous ses titres: *Ἡ μητρόπολις καὶ πρώτη Βιθυνίας Πόντου Ἀδριανῆ νεωκόρος, ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος, φίλη καὶ σύμμαχος* (*ἄν*)(ω)θεν¹³⁸ τῷ δῆμῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίων. Elle n'a encore qu'une néocorie. Elle est seulement *Hadrianè*; ce nom perpétue la reconnaissance envers Hadrien qui l'a relevée de ses ruines après le tremblement de terre de 123,¹³⁹ comme furent 'Kaisareia' des villes de Lydie, d'Éolide et de Kibyratide relevées par Tibère après le séisme de 17 ou celui de 25 p. C.¹⁴⁰ L'inscription est postérieure, non seulement à la création des concours Eusébeia à Pouzzoles créés par Antonin le Pieux à son avènement en l'honneur d'Hadrien, mais à l'avènement de Commode, puisque l'aulète fut vainqueur à Smyrne à des Commodeia.¹⁴¹

¹³⁶ Bosch, 221, note 57.

¹³⁷ CIG, 1720; F. Delphes, III 6 (le théâtre, par N. Valmin), n. 143. Je n'hésite pas maintenant à introduire dans le texte une correction à la ligne 7, *Opera Minora*, II, 1155-1156 (Rev. Phil. 1930): *μόνον καὶ πρῶτον τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἀ(ν)θρῶ(π)ων ἐκκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἀρ(ξ)άμενον τοὺς ἀνδρας ἀγωνίζεσθαι*. L. 11, κατὰ τὸ (ἐξῆς).

¹³⁸ Cette correction de Boeckh est justifiée, s'il en était besoin, par l'inscription ci-dessus. La copie transmise: ENΘEN.

¹³⁹ Voir plus haut, note 87.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. *Hellenica*, II, 77-79.

¹⁴¹ La dernier éditeur, comme Boeckh, écrit l. 10: καὶ ἐν Σμύρνῃ Κομμόδεια (καὶ) Ὀλύμπια, et il croit que la copule avait été omise dans la copie. Mais la copie chez Boeckh donne: KOMMOΔEIANAOΛYMPIA; je crois plutôt que des lettres ont été omises, sans que leur place ait été marquée, comme il arrive souvent dans les copies de Cyriaque (cf. par exemple *Opera Minora*, II, 813, n. 3; Bull. Épig. 1962, pp. 164-165; A. Orlandos, *Hellenika*, I (1938), 14, n. 11 (à Sicyone); J. Oliver, dans *Les empereurs romains d'Espagne*, 120, n. 15, sur IG, II², 1104) et qu'il y eut télescopage de syllabes dans la copie de ce texte: Κομμόδεια Ἀδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια. Les Ἀδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια de Smyrne sont bien connus; cf. surtout *Opera Minora*, II, 1132-1133 (Rev. Phil. 1930); cf. J. Cadoux, *Ancient Smyrna* (1938), 257, n. 8; L. Moretti, *Iscr. agon. gr.*, n. 79, 81, 90; *Hellenica*, VII, 105, l. 8-9: Ζμύρναν τὰ μεγάλα Ἀδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια κτλ. (inscription de l'Agora de Smyrne); encore une inscription à Éphèse, avec la même forme. On dit également, pour ces concours de Smyrne, Ἀδριάνεια (Ἀδριάνια) Ὀλύμπια et Ἀδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια, cette dernière forme étant la plus fréquente. Pour un temps, dont témoigne notre inscription, le nom de Commodeia lui fut ajouté, naturellement en tête; il disparaît avec l'empereur et ne fut rétabli qu'ultérieurement.

Elle se place sous ce dernier règne et ne donne pas seulement un *terminus a quo*, comme on l'a dit à l'occasion.

Nicomédie, favorisée par Septime Sévère, célébra des fêtes en son honneur et c'est à ce moment qu'apparut dans la numismatique de la ville un type agonistique: table avec couronnes agonistiques et palme, et l'inscription *Σευήρια μεγάλη*.¹⁴² Les *Σευήρια ἐν Νεικομηδείᾳ* sont nommées dans l'inscription d'un athlète à Philadelphie de Lydie au III^e siècle, dans celle d'un héraut de Sinope à Athènes et à Olympie très avant dans ce siècle¹⁴³ et dans celle d'un héraut ou trompette à Delphes.¹⁴⁴

Mais il y eut aussi à Nicée de fréquentes émissions sous le même règne et avec les types de la couronne agonistique ou de la table avec couronne ou de l'athlète se couronnant; elles portent la légende *Σεουήρια*¹⁴⁵ ou surtout *Σεουήρια Φιλαδέλφεια*,¹⁴⁶ qui atteste l'accord des deux frères, Caracalla et Géta;¹⁴⁷ on lit encore *μεγάλα* (n.355) ou *ιερός ἀγών* (n.356). Types et légendes ornent aussi les monnaies de Géta

¹⁴² *Recueil*, n.90.

¹⁴³ Philadelphie: *CIG*, 3428 (*IGR*, IV, 1645). — Athènes: *IG*, II², 3169-3170, et à Olympie, acéphale: *I. Olympia*, 243; l'inscription est postérieure à 261 p. C., et l'homme a vaincu aux Jeux Séculaires de 248 (*Ῥώμης Αἰώνια, ἀγών χειλιέτης*) et trois fois au concours d'Athéna Promachos institué par Gordien à Rome (cf. *Comptes Rendus Ac. Inscr.* 1970, 13).

¹⁴⁴ J'ai publié cette inscription *Comptes Rendus Ac. Inscr.* 1970, 20, 1.16-17.

¹⁴⁵ *Recueil*, n.857.

¹⁴⁶ *Recueil*, n.355, 356, 359, 360. Avec l'effigie de Julia Domna, n.394 (table, couronnes et vase), 395 (formant le type, en 5 lignes, dans une couronne de laurier), 396. Au nom de Caracalla, n.485-489. Pour Géta, voir note 148. Le concours *Σεουήρια* persiste dans le cours avancé du III^e siècle associé aux *Augousteia* (*Agoustia*), n.659 (Maximin), 731 (Philippe le Père), 810 (douteux), 863 (Salonine). Je ne parle pas des Pythia de Nicée (cf. pourtant déjà *Hellenica*, VII, 100-101, sur les pommes données en prix), au milieu du siècle, associés aux Sévéreia, n.852 (sous Gallien) et aussi aux *Augousteia*; cela doit venir dans une étude sur la dernière floraison des concours grecs sous Gordien et sous Gallien, que j'ai déjà esquissée en diverses occasions, depuis *Ét. épigr. phil.*, 53-61, jusqu'à *Laodicée du Lycos*, 291, n.2, et *Bull. Épigr.* 1972, 500 (pour Sidé une monnaie de Valérien sera caractéristique) et 612 (à propos de Panopolis).

¹⁴⁷ Leurs deux bustes sur la table agonistique n.355. Tel est bien ici le sens; pour un sens différent à Philadelphie de Lydie et à Euméneia, voir *Rev. Phil.* 1976, *Une inscription agonistique attribuée à Corycos de Cilicie*, 187. Je relève, sur la planche LXXVI, 10, que le buste de Géta fut effacé sur l'exemplaire de Vienne.

César.¹⁴⁸ L'inscription à Philadelphie de Lydie d'un pentathle de Kibyra mentionne sa victoire aux Sévéria de Nicée, catégorie enfants;¹⁴⁹ un héraut de Sinope fut vainqueur aussi, tard dans le III^e siècle, aux Sévéria de Nicée comme à celles de Nicomédie.¹⁵⁰

Le n° 321 des monnaies de Nicée dans le *Recueil*, connu par deux exemplaires de Paris et de Vienne, porte une légende singulière qui emplît tout le revers, avec à la fin l'ethnique détaché *Νικαιέων*, le tout dans une couronne d'olivier (au droit, selon l'usage, la figure et les noms de l'empereur Commode): *Βασιλεύοντος Κομμόδου ὁ κόσμος εὐτυχεῖ*. Th. Reinach n'en a rien dit; selon W. Ruge, "elle souligne la prospérité générale."¹⁵¹ C'est une proclamation que l'on peut dire ultraloyaliste. Le verbe entre dans le thème du bonheur sous tel et tel empereur. C'est une série que forment les expressions du type "à l'époque très heureuse de tel empereur", *ἐν τοῖς εὐτυχιστάτοις καιροῖς Ἀντωνίνου*, etc.¹⁵²

Or, à Nicomédie sous le règne suivant, avec la tête radiée de Septime Sévère, on lit sur le n° 191 du *Recueil*, connu par un exemplaire de Paris, cette légende non moins singulière: *Βασιλεύοντος Σεβουήρου ὁ κόσμος εὐτυχεῖ. Μακάριοι Νικομηδεῖς δις νεωκόροι*. Selon Th. Reinach, p. 514, "la curieuse légende du n° 191 se rattache aussi, sans doute, à la célébration de jeux, sous Septime Sévère."

Cela se place après l'abaissement de Nicée lors de la victoire de Septime Sévère. L'émission de Nicomédie sous Septime Sévère est étroitement liée à celle de Nicée sous Commode. Elle constitue une exacte réplique. "Le monde" heureux sous le règne de Sévère, c'est la même emphase loyaliste, la même allusion à l'empereur *κοσμοκράτωρ*. Suit la réplique, sarcastique, après le châtement de Nicée par la perte de son droit au partage du titre "premiers de la province". Les temps sont changés avec l'empereur! La roue de la fortune a tourné. L'adjonction locale explique cette jubilation: "bienheureux les Nicomédiens qui

¹⁴⁸ *Recueil*, n.523 (avec aussi *megala*), 524, 526 (avec aussi *hieros agôn*), 527 (formant le type dans la couronne de laurier). Les monnaies de Septime Sévère avec ces légendes doivent dater de la même période.

¹⁴⁹ W. H. Buckler, *J. Hell. Stud.* 1917, 88 sqq. (*IGR*, IV, 1761; Moretti, *loc. cit.*, n.82): *Σεβήρεια ἐν Νεικέα παιδων πένταθλον τῇ πρώτῃ τριάδι*. Cette dernière expression a été capitale pour comprendre les épreuves du pentathle.

¹⁵⁰ Voir ci-dessus la note 143. Sur les régions où fleurirent spécialement les Antonineia, voir *Bull. Epigr.* 1952, 180, p. 191; *Comptes Rendus Ac. Inscr.* 1970, 23-24.

¹⁵¹ *Nikaia*, 232. Il ajoute: "Commodus hat auch vor den Mauern von Nikaia ein Apollonion gebaut, *Chron. Pasch.* S. 491, 5 Bonn."

¹⁵² J'ai restitué cette expression dans l'inscription d'Éphèse *OGI*, 493, et je l'ai expliquée *Rev. Phil.* 1977, fasc. 1: 11, *Sur la lettre d'un proconsul d'Asie*.

ont obtenu de lui un second néocorat.” Ce n’est pas sans raison très personnelle aussi que les Nicéens avaient imaginé cette émission pas banale pour affirmer que “sous le règne de Commode le monde est heureux.” Sous Septime Sévère “le monde est heureux”, parce que les Nicomédiens nagent dans la gloire et le bonheur puisqu’il sont devenus — ou redevenus — “deux fois néocores”. La province de Bithynie élèvera chez eux un temple à Septime Sévère. *Eutychès*, *Makarios*; comme on avait un choix d’expressions pour la haine, on en a pour le bonheur, la félicité.¹⁵³ Plus tard, les Aragouénoï de Phrygie, dans une supplique à propos de leur triste état, parleront des *μακαριώτατοι καιροί* des Philippes.¹⁵⁴

Ces deux monnaies singulières peuvent être expliquées encore plus à fond par l’examen de la politique de Commode envers l’une et l’autre des deux villes. Sous Commode, le monnayage de Nicée célèbre très abondamment un concours des *Commodeia*¹⁵⁵ et tous les types de cette émission, à une exception près (un temple), sont relatifs aux concours: table avec le buste de Commode et deux couronnes agonistiques avec palmes,¹⁵⁶ couronne agonistique, vase avec palme, athlète se couronnant, tirage au sort avec trois athlètes.¹⁵⁷ Aussi la légende est souvent *ἱερὸς ἀγών*.¹⁵⁸ C’est à l’empereur que la ville doit de pouvoir célébrer les

¹⁵³ Pour cette famille de mots en général et pour les synonymes, voir G. Lejeune Dirichlet, *De veterum macarismis* (*Relig.-gesch. Versuche Vorarb.*, XIV 4; Giessen, 1914; 71 pp.), du moins pour les textes littéraires.

¹⁵⁴ *OGI*, 519, 1.16–17: [πάσ]χομεν ἀλλότρια τῶν ὑμετέρων μακαριωτάτων καιρῶν; 1.9–10, πάντων ἐν τοῖς μακαριωτάτοις ὑμῶν καιροῖς, εὐσεβέσ[τατοι καὶ ἄλν]πότατοι τῶν πώποτε βασιλέων, ἤρεμον καὶ γαληνὸν τὸν βίον δια[γόντων]. L.11–12, la première lettre conservée de l’adjectif doit assurer la restitution adoptée: *μόνοι ἡμεῖς ἀλλότρια τ[ῶν] εὐτυχεστάτων* καιρῶν *πάσχοντες*. Dans un décret de Magnésie du Méandre très antérieur, vers la fin du II^e siècle a. C., les deux termes alternent, 1.47–48: *γενεὰν τὴν ὑπά[ρχουσαν] σώζεισθαι?* καὶ *εὐτυχεῖν καὶ τὴν ἐπιγονὴν μακαρίαν [γίνεσθαι]*.

¹⁵⁵ *Recueil*, n.302, 305, 306, 310, 316, 317.

¹⁵⁶ Ainsi faut-il corriger la description périmée — et quelquefois encore tenace dans des publications — “urnes agonistiques”. J’en ai souvent parlé, par exemple dans *Hellenica*, VII, 93; *La déesse de Hiéropolis Castabala*, 20; *Monnaies grecques*, 68–69, et aussi dans le *Bull. Épigr.*, ainsi en dernier lieu 1969, 579 (Selgè), 1970, 586 (Hiéropolis), ou dans *Comptes Rendus Ac. Inscr.* 1970, 23, n.2 (Cyzique et Hiéropolis). Nous avons à mainte reprise reconnu des couronnes de ce type sur des pierres où des éditeurs ne les avaient pas comprises. J’en reprendrai quelque part toute la série “sur pierres”.

¹⁵⁷ Pour ce dernier type, voir H. Gäbler, *Z. f. Num.*, 39 (1929), 271–312: *Der Losurne in der Agonistik*; cf. *Hellenica*, VII, 106–112.

¹⁵⁸ *Recueil*, n.304, 307, 309, 311–315, 317–319. Je rappelle (cf. *Bull. Épigr.* 1969, 60; 1971, 649) que les petits bâtons d’ivoire de l’ancienne collection Durand,

Commodeia comme un 'concours sacré'. Ce privilège, qui élève le concours au-dessus des concours locaux, en concours 'panhellénique' et 'isélastique', est en effet accordé par Rome, par l'empereur en fait, par le Sénat aussi en principe.¹⁵⁹ C'est ce qu'exprime le mot *δωρεά* dans des inscriptions ou des monnaies; l'empereur n'a pas donné de l'argent pour un concours; il a fait 'un cadeau' en donnant l'autorisation à une ville de célébrer un *ἱερὸς ἀγών*,¹⁶⁰ avec la gloire que cela donne, l'affluence des concurrents venus de partout et les privilèges, moraux et financiers, dont jouiront les vainqueurs dans le monde entier, à savoir pour chacun dans sa patrie.¹⁶¹

au Musée Britannique: *Ἱερὸς ἀγών Νικαίων* et *Εὐτυχεῖς καιροί* (CIG, 3752), sont des faux, fabriqués d'après les monnaies, de même que ceux de la même collection au Louvre avec la mention de Hiérapolis (CIG, 3910; *Alt. Hierapolis*, n.15).

¹⁵⁹ Il suffit de citer ici les inscriptions de Pergame *Alt. Pergamon*, VIII 2, 269 (IGR, IV, 336), de Thyatire (*Ét. Anat.*, 118-128), de Smyrne (IGR, IV, 1431, 1.33 sqq.), et celle de Milet que vient récemment de publier P. Herrmann, *Ist. Mitt.*, 25 (1975), 149-166: *Eine Kaiserurkunde aus der Zeit Marc Aurels aus Milet*.

¹⁶⁰ J'ai déjà parlé de ce sens de *dôrea* pour un concours. Voir notamment *Opera Minora*, II, 1033 (*Rev. Num.* 1936); *La déesse de Hiérapolis Castabala*, 90, avec la note 1; *Bull. Épigr.* 1952, 180, p. 194; 1972, 500; *Hellenica*, XI-XII, 367-368.

¹⁶¹ Pour l'expression *ἀγών εἰσελαστικός εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην* voir *Ét. Anat.* 119, n.3; *Bull. Épigr.* 1952, 115, p. 351; 1961, 221. Le terme n'est pas compris de C. Bosch, 223; cf. aussi *Bull. Épigr.* 1973, 150, où nous signalons une longue erreur sur *Πανελλήνια τὰ πρῶτα δοθέντα εἰσελαστικά ὑπὸ θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ*. Ces expressions de ce temps sont reprises dans le paragraphe eschatologique des *Oracula Sibyllina*, II, 34 sqq., tout bourré d'expressions agonistiques précises: *μέγας γὰρ ἀγών ἰσελαστικός ἔσται | εἰς πόλιν οὐράνιον* (l'entrée solennelle du vainqueur dans sa patrie, *polis*), *οἰκουμενικός δέ τε πᾶσιν | ἔσσεται ἀνθρώποισιν ἔχων κλέος ἀθανασίης*; ensuite allusion aux athlètes qui achètent la couronne par corruption (*ἀργυρίου... στέφος ὠνήσασθαι*) et à l'agonothète incorruptible (*ἀγνός*; cf. *Opera Minora*, I, 607, note 6, précisément pour l'*agneia* d'un agonothète à Gérasa) que sera le Christ (*βραβεύσει*), aux prix, *ἄεθλα, θέμα*, et même au combat jusqu'à la mort (*ἄχρι καὶ θανάτου τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιοῦσιν*). De même, *ibid.*, 149-153, sans que le mot soit prononcé, il est largement commenté: *Οὗτος ἀγών, ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀέθλια ταῦτα, | τοῦτο πύλη ζωῆς* (la porte par laquelle le vainqueur fait son entrée dans sa patrie, comme on l'a vu encore récemment pour le III^e siècle a. C. dans le décret de Téos, P. Herrmann, *Anadolu* 1965 (1967), p. 38, 1.46-49 et p. 68, n.38-40; cf. *Bull. Épigr.* 1969, 495, p. 504) *καὶ εἴσοδος ἀθανασίης, | ἣν θεὸς οὐράνιος δικαιοτάτοις ἀνθρώποις | ἔστησεν νίκης ἐπαέθλιον· οἱ δὲ λαβόντες τὸ στέφος ἐνδόξως* (le mot pour les victoires agonistiques, *Hellenica*, XI-XII, 351-358 (avec aussi le Martyre de S. Polycarpe dans Eusèbe), 368) *διελεύσονται διὰ ταύτης*.

Il n'y a pas de concours Commodeia attestés à Nicomédie. Mais il y a plus. Dion Cassius, 72, 12, 2, nous informe que le Nicomédien Saôteros, favori de Commode, fit profiter sa patrie de son influence¹⁶² et que, grâce à lui, les Nicomédiens "reçurent du Sénat¹⁶³ l'autorisation de célébrer un concours et de faire un temple de Commode," *ἐκεῖνος μέγιστον ἐδυνήθη καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ Νικομηδεῖς καὶ ἀγῶνα ἄγειν*¹⁶⁴ καὶ νεῶν τοῦ Κομμόδου ποιήσασθαι παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἔλαβον. "Un temple de Commode" semble impliquer une néocorie, la seconde. De fait, des émissions de Nicomédie sous Commode portent la légende *δὲς νεωκόρων*.¹⁶⁵ Elles sont rares et le plus grand nombre sous ce règne portent le simple *νεωκόρου*.¹⁶⁶ On avait supposé que le titre "deux fois néocores" avait disparu parce que la mémoire de Commode fut condamnée.¹⁶⁷ La reconstruction de C. Bosch me paraît juste:¹⁶⁸ Saôteros était au faîte de sa puissance à l'avènement de Commode comme Auguste et seul empereur; sa chute eut lieu avant 183. C'est alors que Commode, après avoir donné le concours et la néocorie aux Nicomédiens, les leur enleva. D'où le petit nombre des monnaies avec "deux fois néocores" et qui se placent au début du règne.

C'est à ce moment-là ou peu après, je pense, que Commode "donna" le *hiéros agôn* des Commodeia à Nicée,¹⁶⁹ qui célébra ce don par une

¹⁶² On a par les documents eux-mêmes de beaux exemples de personnages employant leur influence auprès de l'empereur en faveur de leur cité d'origine; citons Criton, médecin de Trajan, et Héraclée de la Salbakè (*La Carie*, II, 222-225; la ville s'appelle un temps *Οὐλπιοὶ Ἡρακλεῶται*); le rhéteur Polémon et Smyrne sous Hadrien (*IGR*, IV, 1431, 1.33 sqq.: *ὅσα ἐπετύχομεν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Καίσαρος Ἀδριανοῦ διὰ Ἀντωνίου Πολέμωνος*, notamment une seconde néocorie donnée par senatus-consulte et un *ἀγὼν ἱερός* avec *ἀτέλεια*; pour ce dernier mot, qui doit se rapporter à l'*agôn*, cf. *Hellenica*, XI-XII, 469-470; *Rev. Phil.* 1967, 62, n.3); Julianus à Philadelphie sous Caracalla (K. Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, pp. 15 sqq.; *Sylloge*,³ 883: *δι' ὃν καὶ τὴν νεωκορίαν αὐτὴν τοῖς Φιλαδελφεῦσιν δέδωκα*, dans la lettre à *Ἰουλιανὲ τιμώτατέ μοι καὶ φίλτατε*).

¹⁶³ Cf. *Rev. Phil.* 1967, 48-50 (pour l'Asie) et des textes cités à la note précédente (Smyrne) et note 159.

¹⁶⁴ Ce "concours" était nécessairement un "concours sacré".

¹⁶⁵ *Recueil*, n.142, 162-165.

¹⁶⁶ Sous Commode empereur, les types du Recueil vont de 141 à 167.

¹⁶⁷ Th. Reinach, *Recueil*, p. 513. Il allègue le fait que la monnaie de Pescennius Niger porte le simple "néocore".

¹⁶⁸ Je l'ai déjà dit d'un mot dans *Laodicée du Lycos*, 284, n.2.

¹⁶⁹ Tantôt *Κομόδεια*, tantôt *ἱερός ἀγὼν*: *Recueil*, n.302, 304-320, toujours avec des types agonistiques (la table avec les couronnes et le buste de Commode mais sans légende, n.302). Les *Komodeia* de Nicée dans une inscription d'un athlète à Naples, *IG*, XIV, 738 (*IGR*, I, 443). Commode ne donna pas la néocorie à la ville.

frénésie de monnayage concernant ce concours.¹⁷⁰ Cela rendait encore plus cuisante la défaveur de l'empereur envers Nicomédie.

Or, voici que Commode est assassiné, que sa mémoire est abolie et ne sera rétablie, de façon imprévisible, qu'au bout de quatre ou cinq ans et que Septime Sévère, à sa prise de possession, accorde une seconde néocorie à Nicomédie. Ce fut lui-même qui l'accorda, car l'émission sous Pescennius Niger ne porte que "néocore", et dès le début, car toutes les monnaies à l'effigie de Septime Sévère donnent le titre "deux fois néocore". Ce titre est encore plus piquant, parce que Commode grand ami de Nicée qui lui donna ses Commodeia en concours sacré, en avait fait cadeau à Nicomédie, mais pour le lui enlever. Au même moment, Nicée, qui ne fut jamais néocore, voit marteler son titre de "première de la province", que Nicomédie avait dû partager avec elle. Le changement de règne appelle "le bonheur du monde", "la félicité des Nicomédiens".¹⁷¹ Cette émission, glorieuse et sarcastique, est à placer tout au début du règne de Septime Sévère.

¹⁷⁰ Ainsi en fut-il à Ancyre de Galatie pour les Asklépia Sôtéria Antoninia, concours 'sacrés' et isopythiques, en l'honneur de Caracalla, par son autorisation, *Hellenica*, XI-XII, 362-365 pour les monnaies. Pour des fêtes du même nom à Laodicée et pour le rapport des fêtes de Laodicée et d'Ancyre avec la santé de Caracalla malade, voir *Laodicée du Lycos*, 291-294; sur la visite de Caracalla à l'Asclépios d'Aigai de Cilicie, voir *J. Savants* 1973, 198-199.

¹⁷¹ Dans cet ensemble entre naturellement cette autre rareté qu'est le bronze d'une ville bithynienne toute proche, Kios. Cette petite ville a imité l'émission de Nicomédie. Sous Septime Sévère, un bronze copie la monnaie de Nicomédie, comme type cette légende entourée d'une couronne: *Σενήρου βασιλεύοντος* (sur le pourtour) *ὁ κόσμος ἐντυχεῖ, Μακάριοι Κιανοί* (*Recueil*, n.56; "légende curieuse", dit Th. Reinach, p. 310). Il est caractéristique que ce soit encore une ville limitrophe de Nicée. Cette situation rend pour ainsi dire normal que les deux villes n'aient pas été amies. Tout de même que Prousa de l'Olympe et la petite Apamée de Bithynie (cf. *Studii Clasice*, 16 (1974), 64-68). La comparaison est d'autant plus exacte qu'Apamée, sur la côte de la Propontide, à Mudanya, était, comme le dit Dion de Pruse, le port obligé de Prousa, dans sa plaine fertile et avec le bois de ses forêts de l'Olympe, coupée de la mer par une chaîne de collines appartenant à Apamée, et que Kios, à l'Ouest du bassin de Nicée, coupait à Nicée l'accès à la mer. La fierté que Kios tirait de son port est bien marquée par les émissions pseudo-autonomes, dont le type est un navire entrant dans le port (*Recueil*, n^{os} 28-30; le droit représente la tête d'Héraclès avec la légende *τὸν κτίστην*; le héros avait fondé la ville, (tradition connue par ces monnaies, comme par les n^{os} 40 (Marc Aurèle), 68 (Caracalla), au détriment des figures de Kios et de Polyphème) après avoir perdu Hylas (Hylas, éphèbe avec le vase où il allait puiser de l'eau, sur les monnaies 87, Sévère Alexandre; 97, Maximin; 110, Tranquilline; 125, Volusien). D'autre part, c'est justement dans les Défilés entre Kios et Nicée qu'eut lieu la bataille entre les troupes de Pescennius Niger et celles de Sévère. Ces dernières, après leur succès aux environs de

Cette analyse conjointe des inscriptions et des monnaies peut faire apparaître certaines différences entre ces deux catégories de documents pour l'usage des titres honorifiques.

La conservation et la découverte des inscriptions sont dues au pur hasard.¹⁷² Les monnaies forment des séries plus continues et ordinairement bien faciles à dater (par règnes); cependant il ne faut pas oublier que ces monnayages comportent des trous — et définitifs — dont la raison ne peut s'expliquer.¹⁷³ Ainsi il n'y eut pas de monnayage à Nicée entre Domitien et Antonin le Pieux (ni Trajan, ni Hadrien), à Nicomédie entre Trajan et Antonin le Pieux (pas Hadrien, mais des émissions avec le "héros Antinoos").¹⁷⁴

Les pierres se prêtent à une titulature très développée, complète. Sur les monnaies, les rédacteurs de la légende sont tenus à plus de sobriété par la place. Il faudra, si l'on veut être complets, recourir à des abréviations, chaque titre pouvant être réduit à une lettre, comme à Aigeai de Cilicie avec les lettres *ΜΕΠΘ*.¹⁷⁵ Les abréviations peuvent nous rester

Cyzique, arrivaient donc en venant de Kios. On comprend que la ville leur ait fait bon accueil après cette première victoire et c'est en partant de là qu'elles attaquèrent Nicée. L'émission montre que Kios s'associa à la formule lancée par Nicomédie, proclamant elle aussi sa joie du pouvoir impérial de Sévère.

¹⁷² Notons qu'un document sur les titres de Nicomédie peut surgir bien loin de cette ville, à Delphes ou ailleurs.

¹⁷³ Je reviendrai ailleurs là-dessus et sur les autorisations du monnayage local; cf. *Annuaire Collège de France 73^e année* (1973), 482.

¹⁷⁴ *Recueil*, n.43-45. Ces émissions consacrées à Antinoos, les seules qu'ait émises Nicomédie pendant tout le règne d'Hadrien, peuvent s'expliquer par le fait suivant: Nicomédie était la capitale de la province où Antinoos avait vu le jour, sur le territoire de Bithynion-Claudiopolis (devenue un temps Hadrianè); dans cette dernière ville, il avait un culte, avec temple et mystères, et un *μυστάρχης* et un *θυγκός τῶν τῆδε μυστηρίων*; cf. *Rev. Phil.* 1943, 185, n.1 (je fais remarquer dès maintenant que le *τῆδε* pour les mystères distingue les mystères sur place d'Antinoos des grands mystères de Déméter à Nicomédie auxquels prend part la province, comme on le voit, je pense, par des inscriptions de Prousius de l'Hypios; cf. provisoirement *Opera Minora*, II, 322, n.3); *Bull. Épigr.* 1950, 192; 1953, 194, p. 174; 1964, 551. D'autre part, il y a sous Hadrien un monnayage de la province de Bithynie et il y a, en argent, les 'cistophores d'Hadrien'.

¹⁷⁵ Sur Aigeai et ses titres, *μακεδονική, εὐγενής, πιστή, θεοφιλής*, voir mon article *J. Savants* 1973, notamment 201-204. Le bronze publié par A. M. Woodward, *Num. Chron.* 1963 (1965), 5-7, ajoute à ces titres celui de *ἐνδόξων* (cf. ci-dessus note 76), *Μακ(εδόνων) εὐγ(ενών) πισ(τῶν) θεοφ(ιλῶν)* [aimés des dieux, et non *θεοφίλων* avec W.] *ἐνδόξων*, et aussi *νεωκόρου* (ce revers représente la Tychè tenant un modèle de temple, et au bas la chèvre). Frappé sous Sévère Alexandre, il offre au droit, après le nom de l'empereur, la légende déjà connue

mystérieuses jusqu'à ce qu'une inscription nous donne le mot complet. Ainsi en fut-il pour Tarse avec *AMK*, πρώτη μεγίστη καλλίστη, et avec *Γ.ΕΠ.Π*, τριῶν ἐπαρχειῶν προκαθεζομένη;¹⁷⁶ pour Anazarbe, outre *AMK*, avec *Ρωμ. Τροπ. Κεκ.*, 'Ρωμαίων τροπαίοις κεκοσμημένη.¹⁷⁷ A Élaïoussa-Sébastè, les groupes *ΠΣΡΔΕΤ* ou *ΠΔΣΕΡΤ* n'ont encore livré leur secret que pour *πιστή* σύμμαχος) 'Ρ(ωμαίων).¹⁷⁸

À l'occasion, les titres, avec le nom de la ville, ne seront pas comprimés dans la légende circulaire autour du type, mais ils formeront le type même, couvrant tout le champ, entouré ou non d'une couronne; ainsi dans telle émission d'Aigeai de Cilicie,¹⁷⁹ de Magnésie du Méandre;¹⁸⁰ encore dans nos villes même de Bithynie, quand Nicomédie présente dans une couronne son titre prestigieux *Νικομηδέων δις νεωκόρων* sous Caracalla (n.250) et encore sous Maxime César (n.357), et que sous Julia Domna et Géta César Nicée met en valeur de la même façon la faveur retrouvée de la dynastie: *Σεονήρια Φιλαδέλφεια*¹⁸¹ (n.527) et sous Sévère Alexandre *Εὐσεβῶν εὐγενῶν Νικαίων*, et quand chacune des villes fait son émission du "bonheur du monde". Cela met devant les yeux l'importance attachée à la légende en ces cas. Un autre aspect qui s'y rattache est le choix des légendes monétaires. Alors que l'inscription honorant Plautille donne des titres abondants et pompeux, les monnaies au nom de cette impératrice, n.492-498, ne portent aucun titre. D'ailleurs depuis Marc Aurèle l'ethnique des Nicéens n'est jamais accompagné d'une épithète; les légendes, assez rares, ne comportent que des notions religieuses: dédicaces à des dieux et surtout, lors d'une période d'épidémie apparemment, à Asclépios, à Hygie, à Télésphore, au rappel des

et énigmatique (*J. Sav.* 195, note 145) et qui n'est pas résolue par la lecture de W. sur cet exemplaire, très peu net lui aussi: ἀρχ(ιερέα) μέ(γιστον) οἰκε(ῖον) Ἀσκλη(πιού), qui signifierait 'kinsmen of Asklépios'. Les exemples, tous cités d'après *Hellenica*, I et II, ne portent pas; ils sont tous relatifs à l'oikeiôtès d'une ville et d'un empereur (ci-dessus n. 131), non à celle d'un empereur et d'un dieu.

¹⁷⁶ A mon avis, on n'a pas trouvé l'explication de *ΓΒ* et *ΓΤ*; les développements *γράμματι βουλῆς* et *γράμματι γερονσίας* me paraissent incompréhensibles et pour le grec (*γράμματι* en somme au sens de *κρίματι*) et pour les institutions.

¹⁷⁷ Et non pas 'Ρωμαίων Τροπαιοφόρον, Κ(οινοβούλιον) ἐλεύθερον) Κ(ιλικίας?). Cf. provisoirement *Annuaire* (*loc. cit.*), 487-489. Ce titre apparaît à l'extrême fin du règne de Caracalla, sous Macrin et sous Élagabal. Nous pouvons identifier sur place cet arc de triomphe cru trop longtemps de l'époque justinienne.

¹⁷⁸ Les abréviations dans Head, *HN*², 735. Solution des trois lettres dans D. H. Cox (1941); voir *Hellenica*, II, 147.

¹⁷⁹ *J. Savants* 1976, 198, fig. 19.

¹⁸⁰ *Rev. Phil.* 1967, 53. Il s'agit des titres et du rang de la ville.

¹⁸¹ *Recueil*, n.621; pour ces titres, voir plus haut.

divins fondateurs (on l'a vu ci-dessus), ou mention de concours, surtout les Commodeia, puis les Sévéreia,¹⁸² enfin les Pythia. On ne retrouvera des épithètes, μέγιστοι ἄριστοι, ἄριστοι μέγιστοι que sous Valérien et Gallien,¹⁸³ εὐγενεῖς εὐσεβεῖς sous Sévère Alexandre,¹⁸⁴ et ces épithètes sont fades; elles ne comportent plus de venin revendicatif. Il me semble, en somme, qu'il n'y a guère de titres que lorsque la question est brûlante et que se déroule ἡ περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος μάχη. C'est une propagande contre des rivaux dans des moments de crise. La titulature complète, avec tous ses ornements, est ordinairement donnée par les inscriptions que la ville fait graver, qu'elle consacre une statue ou un monument (portes de Nicée) aux membres de la famille impériale ou qu'elle élève à l'étranger la statue d'un vainqueur aux concours (Nicomédie à Delphes).¹⁸⁵ Ce sont les titres que la ville veut voir figurer dans la correspondance officielle qui lui est adressée, comme on le voit par la lettre d'Antonin le Pieux à Éphèse.¹⁸⁶

On a vu l'enseignement que peuvent donner les monnaies pour l'historien. Elles contribuent à l'histoire de chaque cité avec ses types et ses légendes particulières, correspondant à ses goûts, à ses traditions religieuses et culturelles, à ses passions. Ce ne sont pas des textes et des figures réparties dans des villes par la fantaisie ou les nécessités tech-

¹⁸² Voir ci-dessus le commentaire sur chacun de ces concours. Aucune monnaie n'a jusqu'ici préservé le souvenir des Antonineia.

¹⁸³ *Recueil*, n.822, 824 bis, 846, 847; aussi sous Quietus, 873. Sous Claude le Gothique, à la porte du Sud, dite de Yenisehir, la dédicace du rempart à l'empereur, au Sénat et au Peuple romain est faite par ἡ λαμπροτάτη καὶ μεγίστη καὶ ἀρίστη Νευκαίων πόλις, *IGR*, III, 40, après *CIG*, 3748 et Letronne, *Œuvres choisies*, III 1, 291-298; Schneider, p. 43, n.1 (le milieu a disparu; sur la date de la muraille, Schneider, 41). A la porte occidentale, le même empereur offre "les remparts" (τὰ τείχη) τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ Νικαία, ce qui est plus expéditif (*IGR*, III, 39; *Sylloge*³, 895). La différence entre les deux formules est caractéristique, la plus développée émanant de la ville elle-même, la plus courte de l'empereur. Telle est la raison de cette différence, bien que les deux inscriptions aient la même date et la même occasion.

¹⁸⁴ Voir ci-dessus.

¹⁸⁵ Dans les papyrus, nous avons un bel exemple à rapprocher des inscriptions avec la ville d'Hermoupolis la Grande, Ἑρμοῦπολις ἡ μεγάλη ἀρχαία καὶ σεμνοτάτη καὶ λαμπροτάτη. Exemples, avec les variantes, dans G. Méautis, *Hermoupolis la Grande*, 31-33 et 175: ils sont assez nombreux pour nous suffire. Ces titres s'emploient aussi bien quand la ville écrit une lettre (*ibid.*, 175) que quand on s'adresse à elle.

¹⁸⁶ Il n'est pas sûr que tous les titres d'une inscription comme celle de Plautille soient obligatoires dans ce cas. Un titre comme *eusébestatè*, comme celui de "descendante de Dionysos et d'Héraclès", à Nicée, n'a sans doute pas à être approuvé et prescrit par l'autorité romaine.

niques de quelques ateliers centraux ou de monnayeurs itinérants. Itinérants si l'on veut; mais alors ils obéissent strictement pour les types de revers et les légendes aux cités, représentées par leurs magistrats monétaires. Il faut étudier ces monnayages ville par ville et province par province, — étude condamnée par un jugement récent et erroné au point d'être bizarre. La base est le catalogue du type du *Recueil* ou des Corpus allemands de la Thrace et de la Mésie, d'une partie de la Mysie, ou de telles et telles monographies numismatiques de villes.¹⁸⁷ La monographie numismatique est indispensable à l'historien.¹⁸⁸

L'enseignement donné par ces monographies ne peut être compris souvent que si inscriptions et monnaies s'interpénètrent dans l'étude historique;¹⁸⁹ ainsi, dans le cas présent, le martelage des inscriptions à Nicée, comme le 'ricanement numismatique' de Nicomédie et la polémique entre émissions des villes, sous Commode et sous Septime Sévère, et l'origine divine (Dionysos et Héraclès) de Nicée. Il va sans dire que les textes littéraires peuvent jouer un rôle essentiel — mais insuffisant s'ils restent isolés, — ici Dion Chrysostome, Dion Cassius et Hérodién.

PARIS

¹⁸⁷ Nous l'avons fait pratiquement pour les cinq villes de la plaine de Tabai et de son haut-pays, dans la Carie orientale.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. le rappel, avec exemples, de ces banalités — maintenant contestées par le livre de K. Kraft, qui risque de décourager et de stériliser l'étude historique des monnayages de l'Asie Mineure — provisoirement dans *Annuaire*, *loc. cit.*, 484-491 et *J. Savants* 1975, 153-192: *Nonnos et les monnaies d'Akmonia*, surtout pp. 188-192.

¹⁸⁹ Sur la nécessité de rapprocher les inscriptions pour comprendre les monnaies, cf. *Annuaire*, *loc. cit.*, 481-491, pour les erreurs du petit livre de P. R. Franke, *Kleinasien zur Römerzeit, Griechisches Leben im Spiegel der Münzen* (69 pp. et 30 pl. petit in-8°; 1968), spécialement 481 et 484.

AD HOC INVENTION IN THE *ILIAD*

M. M. WILLCOCK

IT is now many years since the English-speaking world at least has accepted¹ the view of Milman Parry that many of the most obvious features of Homeric poetry are due to the fact that it represents an oral style adapted to public performance and employing a stock of formulaic phrases whose purpose and value were rather mnemonic than aesthetic.² The time has come for the understanding of the oral poet's techniques, and what they meant for his composition, to be applied to the age-old

In what follows the ancient *scholia* are quoted from the edition of H. Erbse (*Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* I [1969], II [1971], III [1973], IV [1975]) for books A–T, but from the Dindorf-Maass edition for books Y–Ω. This has the minor consequence that the symbol bT is used in the former case, but BT in the latter. Similarly, Eustathius is quoted from the edition of M. Van der Valk (*Eustathii Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes* I [1971]) for books 1 to 4, but from the old Stallbaum edition for books 5 to 24. The following works by modern scholars are cited with abbreviated references, or by the name of the author only: Cauer, P., *Grundfragen der Homerkritik*, 3rd ed. (1921–1923); Fenik, B., *Typical Battle Scenes in the Iliad* (1968); Heitsch, E., "Der Zorn des Paris," *Festschrift Klein* (1967) 216–247; Jachmann, G., *Der homerische Schiffskatalog und die Ilias* (1958) = Jachmann *SK*; Jachmann, G., "Homerische Einzellieder," *Symbola Coloniensia Iosepho Kroll oblata* (1949) 1–70 = Jachmann *HE*; Kakridis, J. T., *Homeric Researches* (1949); Kullmann, W., *Das Wirken der Götter in der Ilias* (1956) = Kullmann *Das Wirken*; Kullmann, W., *Die Quellen der Ilias* (1960) = Kullmann *Die Quellen*; Lohmann, D., *Die Komposition der Reden in der Ilias* (1970); Niese, B., *Die Entwicklung der homerischen Poesie* (1882); Schadewaldt, W., *Iliasstudien*, 2nd ed. (repr. 1966) = Schadewaldt *IS*; Schadewaldt, W., *Von Homers Welt und Werk*, 3rd ed. (1959) = Schadewaldt *VHWW*; Van der Valk, M., *Researches on the Text and Scholia of the Iliad* I (1963), II (1964); Von der Mühl, P., *Kritisches Hypomnema zur Ilias* (1952) = *VdM*; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. von, *Die Ilias und Homer* (1916) = *WIL*.

¹ Even those writers in English who have argued against "formulaic composition" (e.g., M. W. M. Pope, "The Parry-Lord Theory of Homeric Composition," *Acta Classica* 6 [1963] 1–21; Douglas Young, "Never Blotted a Line?" *Arion* 6 [1967] 279–324) essentially accept Parry's evidence, but question the conclusions that have been drawn from it.

² This is not at all to deny that the repetition of phraseology in a narrative poem has a charm of its own, and adds positively to the enjoyment of the hearer of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. It would appear however that this charm is adventitious, a side result of the poet's technique.

problems of the elucidation of the text. This has not so far taken place to any large extent, because Parry and his immediate successors have been almost exclusively concerned with establishing the evidence for oral composition from the careful study of repeated phraseology, and with demonstrating the parallels between Homer and other comparable material. They have in general avoided the detailed questions of text and subject matter which have exercised the intellect of analytical critics from Zenodotus to Wilamowitz and beyond. Other followers of Parry have either continued in the linguistic line, some trying to define "formula" more exactly,³ others taking a special semantic area (ships, weapons) and showing the limitations of language there;⁴ or they have approached particular thematic situations (scenes of arming, battle scenes, threats of mutilation) and shown there also the method of the poet.⁵ The features that have worried the scholars in the German tradition, however, are of a different kind: inconsistency between a phrase here and a phrase a hundred lines before; inconsistency between a phrase and the situation in which it finds itself;⁶ behavior of a character contrary to our expectations; denial or forgetfulness by a character of something he himself said at an earlier stage. These are the features on which analytical scholars have erected arguments for multiple composition, denying that such confusions can properly be assigned to one poet. Unitarian scholars brought up in an analytical tradition, such as Schade-waldt and Reinhardt, have had to exercise an even greater ingenuity and sensitivity than their opponents, so as to show either that the inconsistencies are not really there, and it is only our dimness of sight that prevents us from appreciating the true splendor of the poet's creativity, or that the inconcinnity of the story is the result of different models used by the poet: Achilles is masquerading for Meleager, Patroklos for Antilochos.⁷

³ See J. A. Russo, "A Closer Look at Homeric Formulas," *TAPA* 94 (1963) 235-247; W. W. Minton, "The Fallacy of the Structural Formula," *TAPA* 96 (1965) 241-253; A. Hoekstra, *Homeric Modifications of Formulaic Prototypes* (1965); J. B. Hainsworth, *The Flexibility of the Homeric Formula* (1968).

⁴ B. Alexanderson, "Homeric Formulae for Ships," *Erans* 68 (1970) 1-46; W. Whallon, "The Shield of Ajax," *YCS* 19 (1966) 7-36; cf. D. H. F. Gray, "Homeric Epithets for Things," *CQ* 41 (1947) 109-121.

⁵ J. I. Armstrong, "The Arming Motif in the *Iliad*," *AJP* 79 (1958) 337-354; Fenik; C. P. Segal, *The Theme of the Mutilation of the Corpse in the Iliad* (1971).

⁶ This topic has not been entirely neglected by those who have followed Parry; see references in n.20.

⁷ See the works of the neoanalysts passim, especially Kakridis; Schade-waldt *VHWW*; Kullmann *Die Quellen*.

Many of the rest of us profess the view that virtually all analytical stumbling blocks are to be explained in terms of the probable or necessary consequences of formulaic composition. E. Heitsch, in a somewhat polemical booklet, complains that "factual contradictions, serious stylistic differences, and inconsistencies in the plot development are nowadays treated as self-evident features of a method of poetic composition."⁸ This is correct; but of course they still need discussion and explanation.

In the text itself, much may be done on these principles. There are many cases where Aristarchus objected on intellectual grounds to a reading, and lightly altered it to make better sense. The vulgate of the post-Ptolemaic papyri and the medieval manuscripts disregarded such emendations, but modern editors have been influenced by the authority of the great critic. A realization of the pressure towards repetition of formulaic diction will enable future editors to reverse this tendency and return to the oral phraseology of the tradition.⁹

A particular result of formulaic composition seems to be the ad hoc invention of detail¹⁰ to support a given argument or situation. In an article in *CQ* 1964,¹¹ I endeavored to show that Homer has a genial habit of inventing mythology for the purpose of adducing it as a parallel to the situation in his story. (This phenomenon, called a mythological exemplum or paradeigma, always occurs in a speech.) I there argued

⁸ "Sachliche Widersprüche, gewichtige Stilunterschiede und Unstimmigkeiten des Handlungsablaufs werden jetzt als selbstverständliche Eigentümlichkeiten eines Dichtens betrachtet" (E. Heitsch, *Epische Kunstsprache und homerische Chronologie* [1968] 23).

⁹ See Van der Valk *passim* and the same author's previous *Textual Criticism of the Odyssey* (1949); also J. A. Davison in *Companion to Homer* (ed. A. J. B. Wace and F. H. Stubbings, 1962) 224-229. In working on the first half of the *Iliad*, I have noticed the following lines (which could easily be added to) where modern editors have wrongly followed Aristarchus against the manuscript tradition: 4.456; 5.881; 9.19, 394; 10.306, 408; 11.564; 12.218.

¹⁰ In addition to "ad hoc invention," the following terms are in use: *autoschediasma* (from Arist. *Poetics* 1448b), *Erdichtung*, *Augenblickserfindung*. Credit for the first discussion of this feature in modern times (the *scholia* are perfectly familiar with it, because they naturally treat Homer as a creative poet) may well go to Niese (38-43, 45). The concept is relevant not only to those who believe in oral composition; extreme analysts also explain difficulties in terms of *Augenblickserfindung* (Jachmann *SK* 215 n.314, Heitsch 228).

¹¹ "Mythological Paradeigma in the *Iliad*," *CQ* 58 (1964) 141-154. The methodology of this article, based on previous work by R. Oehler and J. T. Kakridis, has been followed by J. H. Gaisser ("Adaptation of Traditional Material in the Glaucus-Diomedes Episode," *TAPA* 100 [1969] 165-176) and B. K. Braswell ("Mythological Innovation in the *Iliad*," *CQ* 65 [1971] 16-26).

that the following are all Homeric invention, and are not to be seen as references to legends which he had received from his predecessors:¹² the four reminiscences of Nestor (his assistance to the Lapiths, 1.260–273;¹³ his killing of Ereuthalion, 7.132–156;¹⁴ his youthful success in a war against the Epeians, 11.670–761; his performance in the funeral games of king Amarynkeus, 23.629–642); the story that the gods once tried to bind Zeus, 1.396–406;¹⁵ various allusions to throwing out of Olympus, 1.590–594, 14.258, 18.395, 19.130, cf. 8.13, 15.23;¹⁶ stories of the wounding of gods by humans, 5.385–402;¹⁷ the essential parallel features of the story of Meleagros, 9.529–99; and the statement that Niobe ate food after her children were killed, 24.602–617.¹⁸

I intend here to consider a large class of assertions found in speeches, mostly of statements, promises, threats, and so on, allegedly made in the past. In some cases there is striking inconsistency with another passage

¹² In many cases the *background* of a paradesigma is evidently traditional (e.g., the war of the Lapiths and the centaurs or the hunt of the Kalydonian boar); it is the particular incident or involvement described by Homer's character which bears the marks of ad hoc invention.

¹³ This is seen as an *autoschediasma* by D. Mülher, *Die Ilias und ihre Quellen* (1910) 47; *VdM* 24 n.29; Kullmann *Das Wirken* 39 n.1; also (implicitly) by Eustathius (Van der Valk I 100, 29–46).

¹⁴ It will be noticed that Homer makes mention of Nestor's killing of Ereuthalion already at 4.319, three books before the full tale is told. From this the conclusion to be drawn is not that the repeated reference supports the assumption of an independent legend, but that Homer is quoting from his own repertoire. In other words, the *Iliad* was not a single, momentary, creation. The invention involved in Nestor's tale in book 7 (his fight with Ereuthalion) is already known to the poet in book 4, and indeed is logically prior. Compare the phenomenon discussed in my article "*Hysteron proteron* in the Homeric Style," *AJP* 96 (1975) 107–109.

¹⁵ Cf. Σ(bT) A 399–406 τί ποτε ἄρα βουλόμενος ταῦτα ἐπλασε; Σ(bT) Σ 395–398 speaks of Thetis as thematically associated with assisting gods in need of help (Dionysos and Hephaistos as well as Zeus). See also *VdM* 26; Kullmann *Das Wirken* 14–16, 39, *Die Quellen* 15 n.2; and my own previous discussion in the article quoted in n.20, pp. 25–26.

¹⁶ There is some consistency in the allusions, several of them connected with the experiences of Herakles; inconsistency, however, between the two main stories about the ejection of Hephaistos (1.590 ff, 18.395 ff). Of all the instances, that which refers to Hephaistos and Lemnos (1.590 ff) has the best chance of being traditional; the others would then be reflections of it, 18.395 ff being in that case an invention for its immediate situation (cf. n.15). See Eustathius and *VdM* on 18.395; rather differently, Kullmann *Das Wirken* 12, 30.

¹⁷ A Herakles epic has been proposed as a possible source for the later examples here, but there is no proof.

¹⁸ For Meleagros and Niobe particularly, references to previous discussion are given in my article (n.11, above).

in the *Iliad*; in all, it can be demonstrated that the assertion is directly related to the occasion on which it is made, and to the particular circumstances of the person who is being addressed. These examples cumulatively build a case for a technique of ad hoc invention by the *Iliad* poet.

But why should formulaic composition lead to ad hoc invention and occasional contradiction? The reason is twofold. First, the pressure towards the use of common formulas and themes leads the poet to offer an explanation that arises within the set of stock phrases and situations with which he commonly deals;¹⁹ this procedure betrays itself from time to time by some inconsistency between the formulaic expression and the particular situation.²⁰ Secondly, the oral poet concentrates on the particular scene which he is describing. He does his best to make it acceptable, producing corroborative evidence and circumstantial details as he requires them to that end; he is somewhat less concerned about exact consistency with other parts of his work.

The material that follows is divided into two classes: (a) inconsistency between what is said at two or more places; (b) inherently improbable assertions.

CASES INVOLVING INCONSISTENCY IN THE *Iliad* AS WE HAVE IT

I begin with the most obvious examples. Even the casual reader is likely to be surprised, because what a character says seems so unnecessarily at variance with what has been said before, sometimes only a few lines before.

Hektor's statement to the troops at 6.113-115 is certainly surprising at first sight. Helenos has told his brother (86-95) to go to the city and ask Hekabe to assemble *the leading women at the temple of Athene, to offer a robe to the goddess, and to promise her a sacrifice of twelve oxen* if she will only feel pity for Troy and the wives and children of the Trojans. Hektor, after stabilizing the battle, as Helenos told him to do first, shouts to the army in 113-115 (less than twenty lines later) that he is going to the city "to tell *the old men, the councillors*, and our wives, to pray *to the gods*, and promise *hekatombs*." The variation from Helenos' words seems unnecessary, especially as verbatim repetition of instructions is

¹⁹ See A. B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (1960) 96-97.

²⁰ See M. M. Willcock, "B 356, Z 326 and A 404," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 184 (1956/7) 23-26; Van der Valk II 518 n.143; *AC* 35 (1966) 13-14; F. M. Combellack, "Some Formulaic Illogicalities in Homer," *TAPA* 96 (1965) 41-56; B. Fenik, *Studies in the Odyssey* (1974) 50-53, 124-126.

such a feature of Homeric style. It can only be explained in terms of the situation. What is suitable for broadcasting to the army differs from what can be said in a private conversation. Homer realizes this, and makes the change with subtlety; he suits the words to the speakers and their respective audiences, even though this involves an apparent inconsistency.²¹

In book 11, at 122, Agamemnon meets the two sons of Antimachos, who

χρυσὸν Ἀλεξάνδροιο δεδεγμένος, ἀγλαὰ δῶρα,
οὐκ εἶσχε' Ἑλένην δόμεναι ξανθῷ Μενελάῳ.

But Agamemnon himself, in speaking to the young men, makes a much more serious charge (138–141):

εἰ μὲν δὴ Ἀντιμάχοιο δαίφρονος νιῆες ἐστόν,
ὅς ποτ' ἐνὶ Τρώων ἀγορῇ Μενέλαον ἄνωγεν,
ἀγγελίην ἐλθόντα σὺν ἀντιθέῳ Ὀδυσῇ,
αὐθι κατακτεῖναι μηδ' ἐξέμεν ἄψ ἔς Ἀχαιοὺς . . .

This alludes to the supposed embassy of Menelaos and Odysseus to Troy. The accusation is a kind of justification for Agamemnon's ruthlessness in not accepting their plea for mercy and the brutality of the killing that follows; it is therefore relevant to its immediate context, but must be admitted to be improbable in the story of the war, and hardly consistent with 122 ff.²²

There is a lack of precision about the conversations which allegedly took place in Phthia before Achilles and Patroklos left for the war. In 9.254–258, Phoinix says that Peleus advised his son to avoid quarrelling; in 11.783–784, however, Nestor merely says that he gave him the stock heroic instruction αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων.²³ The explanation is obvious: in book 9, Phoinix is begging Achilles to control his anger, so he quotes Peleus as having encouraged affability.

²¹ Cf. Σ(T) Z 114 ἵνα μὴ γυναῖκας μόνας ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος ὀνομάζῃ (similarly Σ(A) and (b)). When Hektor gets to Troy, of course, he does what Helenos told him to do, not what he himself said to the army.

This contradiction has been much used by the analysts: *WIL* 302–303 finds it unthinkable that a single poet should so contradict himself; Jachmann *HE* 3–7 attributes the reference to the councillors in 113–114 to a second-rate versifier ("Flickpoet"); *VdM* 112 sees it as influenced by the Teichoskopia and other additions by his "poet B."

²² *VdM* 192 considers 138 ff a "rasch und glücklich aufgegriffene Erfindung"; Kullmann *Die Quellen* 277 thinks the *Iliad* poet invented the sons of Antimachos, but that the embassy story was pre-*Iliad*.

²³ Aristarchus athetized 11.767–785 because of various inconsistencies (Σ(A) A 767); his arguments are refuted in Σ(bT).

In book 11, Nestor is more concerned to "remind" Patroklos that his father Menoitios had told him to act as a good adviser to Achilles (a function Nestor wishes him to perform now); consequently he ascribes to Peleus the most ordinary paternal instruction, merely to provide the necessary balance.²⁴

When Hektor has fatally wounded Patroklos in book 16, he says, "Achilleus was no help to you,

ὅς ποῦ τοι μάλα πολλὰ μένων ἐπετέλλετ' ἰόντι·
 'μή μοι πρὶν ἶναι, Πατρόκλεες ἵπποκέλευθε,
 νῆας ἔπι γλαφυράς, πρὶν Ἑκτορος ἀνδροφόνου
 αἵματόεντα χιτῶνα περὶ στήθεσσι δαίξαι' (838-841).

But in fact this is the opposite of Achilles' advice to Patroklos in 80-96 of this same book. Of course Hektor could not know what Achilles actually said, and his words in 838-841 are being used to characterize him as lacking in real judgment and true understanding. But this is in fact similar to our previous examples; the words are chosen to suit the situation in which they are spoken, not to conform to objective facts.²⁵

In 17.24, Menelaos, about to kill Euphorbos, recalls his previous slaying of another son of Panthoos with the words

οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδὲ βίη Ὑπερήνορος ἵπποδάμοιο
 ἦς ἤβης ἀπότηθ', ὅτε μ' ὦνατο καὶ μ' ὑπέμεινε
 καὶ μ' ἔφατ' ἐν Δαναοῖσιν ἐλέγχιστον πολεμιστὴν
 ἔμμεναι.

In fact, however, when Menelaos killed Hyperenor in 14.516-519 the Trojan made no such insulting remark. Once again, the words suit Menelaos' speech in book 17 (he is saying, "Is there no end to the arrogance of these sons of Panthoos?"), and thus the allegation arises from its immediate context; it is not a genuine recollection of the past.²⁶

²⁴ Another allusion to the same farewell scene is at 18.324-327, where Achilles claims he undertook to Menoitios that he would bring Patroklos back to Opous safe and sound. Here again the reminiscence arises from the scene in which it occurs, for Achilles is lamenting Patroklos dead.

²⁵ The whole sequence of the death of Patroklos foreshadows, as is well known, that of Hektor. There also, at 22.331-332, Achilles alleges that Hektor made an assumption which he did not in fact make:

Ἑκτορ, ἀτὰρ που ἔφης Πατροκλῆ' ἐξαναρίζων
 σῶς ἔσσεσθ', ἐμὲ δ' οὐδὲν ὀπίζω νόσφιν ἔόντα.

²⁶ G. Schoeck, *Ilias und Aithiopsis* (1961) 121 describes this as "ein Motiv das mit den Angaben der Ilias in Widerspruch zu stehen scheint." The bT *scholia* reflect ancient controversy. WIL 143 and Cauer 683 assume confusion in the tradition; VdM 254 sees it as evident ad hoc invention; Fenik 162 offers, among other possibilities, the explanation proposed here.

Another case of a variation caused by a change of circumstances occurs in the listing of the compensation actually paid to Achilles in 19.243–248. The list here corresponds exactly to the *immediate* gifts promised by Agamemnon in 9.122–132 (= 264–274); but there is no repetition of the more extravagant rewards promised by Agamemnon in the event of the successful completion of the war, namely first choice of the spoils, twenty Trojan women, a daughter of Agamemnon himself in marriage, and seven cities apparently belonging to Nestor (9.135–156 = 277–298). Some modern critics have been worried by the omission,²⁷ but surely the answer is that these most lavish promises could only be made when Achilles was going to refuse; repetition in book 19 would destroy credibility and affect the legendary situation outside the *Iliad*. Moreover, as both Achilles and we know that he will not survive to the fall of Troy, there would be considerable embarrassment in their repetition here.

In 15.721–723 Hektor alleges that he has been prevented by the cowardice of the Trojan elders from previously attacking the Greek camp. This is in direct contradiction with 9.352–353, according to which Hektor himself had not been willing to leave the protection of the city wall before for fear of Achilles. It is sufficient to point out that his words in book 15 are spoken at a time when he is actually attacking, and therefore arise naturally from the situation.²⁸

Finally in this section, a very important contradiction should be mentioned, where the initial statement, so far from seeming a mere passing invention, has been viewed by many as essentially defining the heroic-tragic character of Achilles, whereas the later contradiction has been treated by analysts as overwhelming evidence for multiple authorship. In 9.410–416, Achilles says that his mother has told him that he has two possible fates, a short life with honor if he stays at Troy, or a long life of obscurity if he returns home. In 11.794–796, Nestor says to Patroklos, in a message for transmission to Achilles, “If he is avoiding some prophecy, and his mother has told him one from Zeus,

²⁷ *WIL* 177 uses it as an argument for difference of authorship; Cauer 691 n.18 comments that one does not offer the hand of a princess twice(!); Schade-waldt *IS* 132 n.1 assumes that the other gifts are included in the undertaking of line 140; *VdM* 288 sees that the omission is necessary here.

²⁸ Jachmann *HE* 6 is sure that 15.721 ff are an *Augenblickserfindung*. Kullmann *Die Quellen* 184 and 292 prefers to assume that the earlier statement of Achilles (9.352–353) was an invention arising out of his argument there. Other references, 5.788–790 and 13.105–106, as well as the reflection in the Meleagros paradeigma (9.550–552), merely corroborate the basic fact that the Trojans had not come out to fight while Achilles was in action.

then let him at least send you out"; but when Patroklos repeats Nestor's suggestion to Achilles in book 16, the reply is

οὔτε θεοπροπίης ἐμπάζομαι, ἣν τινα οἶδα,²⁹
οὔτε τί μοι παρ Ζηνὸς ἐπέφραδε πότνια μήτηρ (16.50-51).³⁰

The alleged statement from his mother, quoted by Achilles in 9.410-416, striking and tragic as it is, may well be an *Augenblickserfindung*. It is largely inconsistent with Thetis' frequent complaint that her great son will be shortlived;³¹ and — more significant — it is particularly relevant to the argument that Achilles is developing in his speech there, that a man's life is not worth risking for material objects or honor, because death is final.³² This argument would not however be suitable for his reply to Patroklos in 16, where his continued withdrawal from the fighting is to be motivated solely by his undiminished resentment at Agamemnon's insult.³³

INHERENTLY IMPROBABLE ASSERTIONS, ARISING FROM THEIR
IMMEDIATE CONTEXT, BUT NOT SPECIFICALLY CONTRADICTED
IN THE *Iliad*

21.475. Apollo has refused to fight his respected uncle Poseidon in the *Theomachia*; his sister Artemis says

μή σευ νῦν ἔτι πατρὸς ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἀκούσω
εὐχομένου, ὥς τὸ πρὶν ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν,
ἅντα Ποσειδάωνος ἐναντίβιον πολεμίζειν.

²⁹ Aristarchus emended the end of 50 to εἰ τινα οἶδα, to suggest that Achilles admits to having heard a prophecy, but says that this is not his reason for refusing to fight (Σ(AbT)). This explanation, though not the change of text, was followed by D. B. Monro (commentary ad loc.); similarly Schadewaldt *IS* 88 n.3, H. Lloyd-Jones, *The Justice of Zeus* (1971) 19.

³⁰ Lines 50-51 (book 16) are at the beginning of a speech which has seemed to analysts to exclude a knowledge of the *Presbeia* in book 9. Jachmann *SK* 81 quotes with approval E. Bethe's statement that in this speech is the "schärfste Widerspruch der Ilias"; see also D. L. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad* (1959) 307 ff.

³¹ 1.416: ἐπεὶ νύ τοι αἶσα μίνυνθά περ, οὗ τι μάλα δὴν; 1.505 ὠκυμορώτατος ἄλλων; cf. Kullmann *Die Quellen* 308-309.

³² This is seen by Σ(bT) ad loc.: εὐ δὲ τὴν τῆς μητρὸς ἐδήλωσε πρόρρησιν. ἐμφαίνεται δὲ ὥς ἔστιν ἀνοήτου χρημάτων ἔνεκεν εἰς πρόδηλον αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν θάνατον.

³³ There is far greater subtlety in Homer's portrayal of personality than is seen by the analysts. Aristarchus was more perceptive; according to him Nestor's suggestion was intended to "needle" (ἐρεθίζειν) Achilles ("Is he keeping out of the fighting because of some warning from his mother?"); of course he has to deny this to Patroklos (Σ(A) 4 794; cf. Σ(bT) II 49).

Nothing at all makes it probable that Apollo should have made a practice of boasting in this way.³⁴ And indeed the introduction of the reminiscence is evidently formulaic, for it is exactly the same as that used at 1.396, in the introduction of the unlikely tale of Thetis' rescue of Zeus:

πολλάκι γάρ σεο πατρός ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἄκουσα
εὐχομένης, ὅτ' ἔφησθα κελαινεφεί Κρονίωνι
οἷη ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν αἰεκέα λοιγὸν ἀμῦναι.

In book 1, the poet (for his character Achilles) needed a reason why Zeus should be under an obligation to Thetis, and he therefore invented one. Similarly in 21.475 ff, Artemis needs a point to make against her brother, and it is provided by ad hoc invention.

Apollo himself uses the same method to Aineias, when he wishes to nerve him to face Achilles at 20.83:

Αἰνεία, Τρώων βουληφόρε, ποῦ τοι ἀπειλαί,³⁵
ὅς Τρώων βασιλεῦσιν ὑπίασχεο οἶνοποτάζων,
Πηλείδew Ἀχιλλῆος ἐναντίβιον πολεμίζειν.

And Helen, in wifely rebuke, after Paris has been worsted in single combat by Menelaos, ascribes relevant previous boasting to her present husband at 3.430:

ἦ μὲν δὴ πρὶν γ' εὔχε' ἀρηιφίλου Μενελάου
σῇ τε βίῃ καὶ χερσὶ καὶ ἔγχει φέρτερος εἶναι.

In all these cases the reminiscence most evidently arises from the immediate situation of the addressee, but alleges what is from a wider viewpoint uncharacteristic and improbable.

Other statements which strain credulity are the following:

5.473 φῆς που ἄτερ λαῶν πόλιν ἐξέμεν ἡδ' ἐπικούρων
οἶος, σὺν γαμβροῖσι κασιγνήτοισί τε σοῖσι.

Sarpedon is accusing Hektor of leaving all the fighting to the allies; but Hektor would neither have said nor thought³⁶ this (see 17.221-224).

³⁴ The lines were athetized by Aristarchus, as inconsistent with the character of Apollo (Σ(A)).

³⁵ The allegation is evidently an instance of a common theme. Less explicit references to past threats are to be found at 13.219 (ποῦ τοι ἀπειλαί), 14.45, 16.200.

³⁶ The *scholia* disagree as to whether φῆς means "you thought" or "you said."

5.832 ὃς (sc. Ἄρης) πρῶτην μὲν ἐμοί τε καὶ Ἡρῇ στεῦτ' ἀγορεύων
Τρωσὶ μαχήσεσθαι, ἀτὰρ Ἀργείοισιν ἀρήξειν.

The allegation is a kind of expansion of the word ἀλλοπρόσαλλον in line 831. The god of war does of course favor now one side, now the other; cf. 21.413–414, where also Ares is said to have changed sides, but without the assertion that he had broken a promise in so doing.³⁷

6.99 οὐδ' Ἀχιλλῆά ποθ' ᾧδ' ἐδείδιμεν, ὄρχαμον ἀνδρῶν,

“as we fear Diomedes now.” The statement is unconvincing,³⁸ and evidently arises from the situation, with Achilleus off the scene and Diomedes on the rampage.

6.326 δαιμόνι', οὐ μὲν καλὰ χόλον τόνδ' ἔνθεο θυμῷ.

This much disputed allegation of χόλος where no χόλος should be has been discussed by Heitsch in a masterly article. I still hold to the view put forward in *PCPhS* 1956/1957 (see n.20, above), that the anger is thematic, arising from the common situation of a warrior absenting himself from the battle, inconsistent however with the particular background here.³⁹

6.337 νῦν δέ με παρειποῦσ' ἄλοχος μαλακοῖς ἐπέεσσιν
ὄρμησ' ἐς πόλεμον.

So he says! But what we have seen of Paris' relationship with Helen does not suggest that he is telling the truth. The statement arises naturally in his situation.⁴⁰

6.435 τρὶς γὰρ τῇ γ' ἐλθόντες ἐπειρήσανθ' οἱ ἄριστοι
ἄμφ' Αἴαντε δύω καὶ ἀγακλυτόν Ἴδομενῆα
ἦδ' ἄμφ' Ἀτρεΐδας καὶ Τυδέος ἄλκιμον υἱόν.

³⁷ We may, incidentally, be wrong to insist too much on Ares as a non-Greek (Thracian) god of war favoring the Trojans. That may be true in the *Iliad*; but when the Greeks were winning, whose side was Ares on then?

³⁸ οὐκ ἀληθῶς (Eustathius 627.37).

³⁹ This is very close, if not identical, to the view of Schadewaldt *IS* 142 n.3, *VHWW* 227.

⁴⁰ Helen's alleged encouragement to Paris to return to the fighting might seem at first sight inconsistent with her critical remarks at 3.428–436; but in fact both passages are evident examples of ἡθοποιία. See however Q. Cataudella, “Un' aporia dell' *Iliade*,” *Studi in onore di Vittorio di Falco* (1971) 3–14, answered by M. Scaffai, “Su una presunta doppia redazione in Omero,” *SIFC* 46 (1974) 22–40.

Andromache invents a reason for Hektor to stay near the walls; it arises from the words ἀμβατός and ἐπίδρομον in 434.⁴¹

7.113 καὶ δ' Ἀχιλεὺς τούτῳ γε (sc. "Ἐκτορι) μάχῃ ἐνὶ κυδιανείρῃ
ἔρριγ' ἀντιβολῆσαι.

Incredible! But it suits Agamemnon's purpose, which is to restrain Menelaos from accepting Hektor's challenge.⁴²

10.47 οὐ γάρ πω ἰδόμην, οὐδ' ἔκλυον ἀυδήσαντος,
ἄνδρ' ἓνα τοσσάδε μέρμερ' ἐπ' ἡματι μητίσασθαι

"as Hektor has now accomplished." This is a natural exaggeration⁴³ arising from the Greek defeat.

18.9 ὥς ποτέ μοι μήτηρ διεπέφραδε, καὶ μοι ἔειπε
Μυρμιδόνων τὸν ἄριστον ἐτι ζώντος ἐμεῖο
χερσὶν ὑπο Τρώων λείψειν φάος ἡελίοιο.

This example, which fits into the common theme of Achilles' private source of information via his mother (cf. 9.410-416, 17.408-409), is particularly instructive, because the supposed recollection of a previous but forgotten warning arises directly from Achilles' present anxiety.⁴⁴ The poet is being a psychologist.

19.297 ἀλλὰ μ' ἔφασκες Ἀχιλλῆος θείοιο
κουριδίην ἄλοχον θήσειν, ἄξειν τ' ἐνὶ νηυσὶν
ἐς Φθίην, δαΐσειν δὲ γάμον μετὰ Μυρμιδόνεσσι

(Briseis speaking). The thought might arise in the situation, and Patroklos was a kind man; but what verisimilitude is there here?⁴⁵

⁴¹ Lines 433-439 (book 6) were athetized by Aristarchus (Σ(A)), and have been condemned by most analysts, including in recent times G. M. Bolling, *The Athetized Lines of the Iliad* (1944) 99-101, Jachmann *HE* 19-21, *VdM* 123-124, with the powerful support of Lohmann 97 n.4, who finds that they destroy the structure of the speech. On the other side are the bT *scholia* to 434, Niese 38, and Schadewaldt *VHWW* 219. Both the A and the bT *scholia* are agreed that the assertion of 435-437 is false (A: ψεύδος περιέχουσιν. T: πέπλασται πρὸς τὸ ἀποστήσαι τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ πεδίου [*similiter* b]).

⁴² Σ (*minora*?) Cod. Matrit. MS. Gr. n.71 (quoted by Erbse on 7.114) ἔρριγ' ἀντιβολῆσαι· ἐφοβήθη ἀπαντῆσαι· τοῦτο δὲ ἐψεύσατο· ἵνα δὲ ἀποστρέψῃ τὸν Μενέλαον εἰπεν αὐτῷ.

⁴³ As Σ(bT) say, ἡὔξησε τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Ἐκτορος.

⁴⁴ See Kakridis 65 and n.2.

⁴⁵ The *scholia* and Eustathius are agreed that Briseis could not properly have become a κουριδίη ἄλοχος. Σ(bT) ὡς πρῶτος δὲ πολλὴν ὑπέβαινε αὐτῇ ἐλπίδα.

The confident assertion which adds life and conviction to the narrative is obviously a part of Homer's poetic technique.⁴⁶ As the whole story is not a historical record, the composer is of course at liberty, like any other creative artist, to put into the mouths of his characters unverifiable statements about past words and actions. In some cases an inconsistency arises with what is said elsewhere, and this we can observe and set down. In others the statement is unconvincing because it is inherently improbable. We must credit the poet with a pervasive technique of instant invention, especially as the allegations arise so naturally from the situation or argument of the speaker.

When he is inventing in this way, the poet uses formulaic phrases freely, and also stock themes, in particular referring to a limited group of situations: the legends of Herakles; the leave-taking of Achilles and Patroklos from their fathers in Phthia; the alleged embassy of Menelaos and Odysseus to Troy; Achilles' private source of information from his mother.

Important conclusions are to be drawn. If Homer invents so freely, it must be dangerous for us to use the *Iliad* as if it were a handbook of mythology. Of course what he invented may in certain cases have become a part of mythology for later writers; but there is surely a qualitative difference between new poetic invention and the tradition from the past. Homer is very much at home in the traditional myths, and often uses them as background for his *autoschediasmata* (e.g., in the paradeigma of Nestor's assistance to the Lapiths, and in that of Meleagros); but his invention is of a different kind and origin. So the neo-analytical search for external sources for assertions about the past in the *Iliad* (e.g., in Kullmann *Die Quellen*) is a perilous one. It is far too easy to leap to conclusions, and assume debts to hypothetical models. On the other hand, analytical anxiety about detailed inconsistency in this sort of case (e.g., the argument that the beginning of book 16 is fatally inconsistent with statements by Achilles in 9) must collapse before the demonstration that this type of inconsistency has numerous clear parallels in the *Iliad*, and arises from the compositional method of the poet.

UNIVERSITY OF LANCASTER

⁴⁶ The *scholia* describe it as ποικιλία. For them, as for Pope, a prime quality of Homer was invention. Our modern discussion of oral composition by formula and theme tends to blind us to this essential fact.

APOLLO'S PERFIDY: *ILIAD* Ω 59-63

RUTH SCODEL

WHEN Apollo, in the 24th book of the *Iliad*, argues in favor of the gods' sending Hermes to steal the body of Hector, Hera indignantly objects to an action which would put Achilles, son of a goddess she herself nurtured, at the same level as an ordinary mortal, and to climax her argument speaks of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis:

πάντες δ' ἀντιάσθε, θεοί, γάμου· ἐν δὲ σὺ τοῖσι
δαίνυ' ἔχων φόρμιγγα, κακῶν ἔταρ', αἰὲν ἄπιστε.

Leaf in his commentary ad loc. remarks. "The argument that Apollo should take the side of Thetis because he was present at her wedding is a delightful piece of feminine logic." Yet had Leaf and other commentators examined the lines more closely, they would perhaps have recognized an allusion to a myth which, though not directly preserved in surviving epic, provides the motive for Hera's insulting tone. The lyre implies song, and a song of praise at the marriage was included in the *Cypria*;¹ Pindar uses the song of Apollo and the Muses as the center of his myth in *Nemean* 5.41 ff:²

πρόφρων δὲ καὶ κείνοις ᾄειδ' ἐν Παλῖῳ
Μοισᾶν ὁ κάλλιστος χορός, ἐν δὲ μέσαις
φόρμιγγ' Ἀπόλλων ἐπτάγλωσσον
χρυσέῳ πλάκτρῳ διώκων
ἀγείτο παντοίων νόμων·

The most interesting description of this song, however, is Aeschylus fr. 284 Mette (= 350 Nauck), possibly from the *Ὀπλων κρίσις*, as Plato quotes it at *Rep.* 383a-b: ὅταν φῇ ἡ Θέτις τὸν Ἀπόλλω ἐν τοῖς αὐτῆς γάμοις ἄδοντα ἔνδατεισθαι

¹ Fr. 3.2 in Erich Bethe, *Homer: Dichtung und Sage* II, Teil 2, p. 157, rpt. as *Der Troische Epenkreis*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig and Berlin 1929), p. 9: [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 3.170 γαμεῖ δὲ ἐν τῷ Πηλῖῳ, καὶ κεῖ θεοὶ τὸν γάμον εὐωχούμενοι καθύμνησαν.

² That the content of Pindar's song is different from the one under discussion here does not, of course, mean that Pindar did not know this tradition. His *πρώτιστον* might, indeed, indicate rather a tactful and deliberate silence.

τὰς ἐ<μ>ὰς εὐπαιδίας
 νόσων τ' ἀπείρους καὶ μακραιώνας βίου,
 ξύμπαντά τ' εἰπὼν θεοφιλεῖς ἐμὰς τύχας
 παιᾶν' ἐπηυφήμησεν, εὐθυμῶν ἐμέ.
 κὰγὼ τὸ Φοῖβου θεῖον ἀψευδὲς στόμα
 ἥλπιζον εἶναι, μαντικῇ βρύον τέχνη.
 ὁ δ', αὐτὸς ὕμνων, αὐτὸς ἐν θοίνῃ παρών,
 αὐτὸς τὰδ' εἰπὼν, αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ κτανὼν
 τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐμόν. <— υ — π — υ —> . . .

An allusion to this story in the Homeric passage seems self-evident; the epic here only implies what the tragic fragment tells explicitly. Apollo's attitude to Achilles is wrong not just because he attended Thetis' wedding, but because he then sang a prophecy in honor of the man he now seeks to dishonor. It is most unlikely that Hera's oblique words could have been the origin of Aeschylus' myth, and it must have been told more fully elsewhere. The likeliest source is perhaps the lament of Thetis in the *Aethiopis* (Bethe, p. 53; cf. *Od.* ω 47–62); Homer, of course, alludes to a common tradition, not necessarily any given text.

Hera's words αἰὲν ἄπιστε, therefore, go beyond the immediate context of Hector's corpse to suggest Apollo's role in the coming death of Achilles (especially if *κακῶν ἔταρ'* is, as by many commentators, understood as a veiled reference to Paris). The two subjects have already been linked by the dying words of Hector himself at X 358–360,

φράζεο νῦν, μή τοί τι θεῶν μήνιμα γένωμαι
 ἤματι τῷ ὅτε κέν σε Πάρις καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
 ἐσθλὸν ἐόντ' ὀλέσωσιν ἐνὶ Σκαιῇσι πύλῃσιν.

Apollo is, however, treated with great respect throughout the *Iliad*, and the theme of his falsity is reduced to an oblique allusion in the mouth of a character who is free with abuse. Still, the accusation is there, and the gods are reminded that they attended Thetis' wedding partly because they are the witnesses to Apollo's perfidy.

While commentators have failed to use the fragment of Aeschylus to explicate the Homeric lines, though they have often been cited together,³ another great poet, Cavafy,⁴ seems to have recognized and used their connection. After quoting as epigraph part of the fragment in its Platonic context, where it represents a kind of poetry not to be commended, he transforms the speech of Thetis into a narrative. The song of Apollo at the wedding is described, the young Achilles, the elders'

³ E.g. Adam cites the Homeric lines at *Rep.* 383b but does not discuss them.

⁴ Konstantinos Kabaphes, *Poimata* (Athens 1963), A, pp. 109–110.

coming to tell Thetis of his death, and her mourning, and the poem concludes as she asks ironically what Apollo was doing and where he was,

ποῦ γύριζε ὁ προφήτης
ὅταν τὸν υἱό της σκότωναν σὰ πρῶτα νειάτα.
Κ' οἱ γέροι τὴν ἀπήντησαν πῶς ὁ Ἀπόλλων
αὐτὸς ὁ ἴδιος ἐκατέβηκε στήν Τροία,
καὶ μὲ τοὺς Τρώας σκότωσε τὸν Ἀχιλλέα.

. . . where was the prophet roaming
when they killed her son in the prime of his youth.
And the old men answered that Apollo
himself, in person, had descended to Troy,
and with the Trojans he had killed Achilles.

(Translation mine.)

But the theme of this narrative is summed up in the single word which provides the title, echoing not the explicit sources, Aeschylus and Plato, but the enraged Hera: *ΑΠΙΣΤΙΑ*.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

CALLINUS 1 AND TYRTAEUS 10 AS POETRY

A. W. H. ADKINS

IN this paper I compare and contrast Callinus 1¹ with Tyrtaeus 10. I treat the poems as poetry, and bear in mind that they are poetry — or poetry-and-rhetoric — composed to achieve a particular purpose. Tyrtaeus 10 is not the only Tyrtaean poem suitable for comparison and contrast, or for the general method used here; but the method will allow me to discuss only two poems within the compass of one article. I shall discuss other Tyrtaean poems, and other early elegy, subsequently.

Callinus and Tyrtaeus are, with Archilochus, the earliest elegiac poets known to us.² There was presumably an earlier tradition of popular oral poetry in elegiac couplets, or some approximation to elegiac couplets, before this period;³ but of this we know nothing. The subject matter of Callinus 1 and Tyrtaeus 10, and the situations which evoked them, are essentially similar: each poet is exhorting apparently reluctant warriors to fight in defense of their *polis*, threatened by an external enemy. Since both poets stand at the beginning of the known elegiac tradition, it is appropriate to inquire with what skill each handles his meter, and how he uses it, and his language, as a vehicle for what he is trying to say; and the similarity of subject matter renders comparison and contrast both easier and more pertinent. My purpose is to compare and contrast as many different facets of the poems as possible, in order to argue that each is in its own way effective poetry, but that despite

¹ I use throughout the numeration of M. L. West, *Iambi et Elegi Graeci* (Oxford 1972), hereafter referred to as West.

² Archilochus is dated by Jacoby (*CQ* 35 [1941] 97 ff) from c.680 to c.640; Callinus lived in Ephesus in the mid-seventh century, and is datable by his reference to the Cimmerian invasions of Ionia. Strabo (14.647) quotes Callinus 5a and adds that Callinus mentioned the fall of Sardis (datable to 652 by the records of Asshur-bani-pal) elsewhere in the poem. K. J. Dover (*Archiloque*, Fondation Hardt [Genève 1964] 190–194) argues that Tyrtaeus wrote later than Archilochus and Callinus. The *Suda* gives his *floruit* as Ol. 35 (640–637 B.C.).

³ Archilochus was said by some authorities to have invented the elegiac together with a number of other meters, Plutarch *De Mus.* 28; but ancient scholars knew as little as we of the early history of metrical development, and certainly knew nothing of the nonliterary predecessors of any literary meter.

similarity of subject matter, language, and dialect, they are effective poetry of a perceptibly different kind.

That Callinus and Tyrtaeus each employ a language almost exclusively Homeric is undeniable; but to say this is to say very little. Such an observation should not be the goal of an inquiry, but its initial stimulus. There are more and less artistic methods of using a preexisting poetical language. One might compose no more than a *cento*, a pastiche, like the quondam schoolboy, with his *Gradus ad Parnassum* composing those dismal elegiacs in which there was much Ovid but nothing Ovidian; or like the author of the *Christus Patiens*, borrowing mechanically line by line and "correcting" Euripides' meter when he could not understand it.⁴ Or one might work in the manner of Apollonius Rhodius, of whose *Argonautica*, whatever defects it may possess, one may fairly observe that it employs Homeric language as the bards did not, and would not have been able to, employ it. And, as we shall see, there may be other methods of employing a vocabulary, and a corpus of earlier poetry, with which both the poet and his audience are familiar. It would be worthwhile to discuss these poets' methods of using Homeric language even separately; but the comparison and contrast will make clearer the characteristics of each.

Again, there are more and less skillful ways of using meter. The schoolboy was often satisfied when he had fitted his *Gradus*-sought phrases into a jigsaw puzzle couplet that would, he hoped, scan; the author of the *Christus Patiens* was frequently content with less. Callinus and Tyrtaeus have progressed beyond this point; but it will be useful to compare their skills in this aspect of poetry.

The metrical and prosodic phenomena of any poem may be analyzed in two ways. One may employ a static analysis, in which the sole concern is the arrangement of such features as long and short syllables, the position of the major caesura or diaeresis, the length of words employed, and the position of the major marks of punctuation. Secondly, one may adopt a more dynamic, teleological analysis, acknowledging that the poem was produced by a poet, and asking *why* he thus ordered the phenomena that the static analysis has discovered. I shall begin the discussion of each poem with analyses of both types.

A dynamic analysis of this kind leads naturally to a consideration of the meaning and usage of the individual words, phrases, clauses, and sentences. In a lyric poet such as Pindar or Horace, or an epic poet of

⁴ On his metrical vagaries see, e.g., W. S. Barrett, *Euripides' Hippolytus*, (Oxford 1964) 77 n.2.

the Virgilian stamp, each word may have all of its connotative possibilities mobilized by the poet through *callida iunctura* with other words in new-minted phrases;⁵ or new phrases of less intensity may be produced. It may appear evident that no such effects are to be found in Callinus or Tyrtaeus. There is nothing approaching Virgil at his most intense; but new-minted phrases of genuine poetic power do occur. However, a primary purpose of this paper is to argue that, in the cultural situation in which Callinus and Tyrtaeus found themselves, not only the new-minted phrase may possess genuine poetic power.

CALLINUS 1

I begin with a brief static analysis. The dactylic hexameter and pentameter each pose different problems, and offer different opportunities, to the poet. Though Callinus and the other early elegists were presumably unaware of the fact,⁶ the hexameter tradition on which they were drawing was longer, richer, and more complex than that of the pentameter; and since the Greek hexameter shows little metrical or prosodic development after Homer, Callinus' hexameters are unlikely to differ significantly in these respects from those of Homer.

The variables which most affect the meter and prosody of the hexameter, in addition to the available choices between dactyls and spondees, are the position of the major caesura and the length of the final word. (The length of other words is important, too; but such data are difficult to tabulate, and will be discussed, where relevant, in the qualitative line-by-line discussion which follows.) Homer admits a wide variety of word lengths at the end of the line; for example, in *Iliad* 6 the first hundred lines furnish one monosyllabic ending,⁷ 33 disyllabic, 44 trisyllabic, 12 quadrisyllabic,⁸ eight pentesyllabic dactylic endings, and two quadrisyllabic spondaic endings.

In Callinus 1 the variation is less: of the ten hexameters, four (1, 10, 12, 18) have disyllabic, five (3, 6, 14, 16, 20) trisyllabic, and one (8) a

⁵ See, e.g., my "Meaning, Using, Editing and Translating," *G & R* 21 (1974) 37 ff.

⁶ This is true if they were themselves drawing on a (more recently developed) elegiac tradition, and were unaware of the length of time during which either the hexameter or the elegiac tradition had existed. That elegiacs are more recent is perhaps indicated by the use of dactylic hemiepes formulae borrowed from epic as the second half of pentameters (e.g., *κουριδὴς τ' ἀλόχου*, Callinus 1.7). See, however, G. Nagy, *Comparative Studies in Greek and Indic Meter*, Cambridge 1974.

⁷ δέ (64).

⁸ Including μέγαν τε (8) as a trisyllable, φρονέειν τε (79) as a quadrisyllable, since the enclitic τε should not be treated as a separate word.

monosyllabic ending. However, we need not suppose that Callinus eschewed longer final words: his only other extant hexameter (frag. 5a) ends in the pentesyllable *ὄβριμοεργῶν*.

Of the common major caesurae Callinus employs all three in his poem. The number of lines is much too small to be statistically significant; but Callinus shows, like Homer, a preference for the trochaic caesura in the third foot (1, 3, 6, 8, 18, 20) over the penthemimeral (10, 16) and the hephthemimeral (12, 14).⁹ In these respects, Callinus' hexameter seems indistinguishable from that of Homer.

The pentameter, however, is a newer phenomenon.¹⁰ It also admits of much less variation in meter and prosody, the most important variable being the length of the final word. In this short poem Callinus uses all the available lengths save the hexasyllable (monosyllables being generally avoided): four disyllables (4, 9, 17, 21), three trisyllables (7, 11, 15), two quadrisyllables (13, 19), one pentesyllable (5) and one heptasyllable (2), five word-lengths in eleven lines. No consecutive couplets end the pentameter with a word of the same length, and the heptasyllabic is followed by a disyllabic ending. This may be chance, but suggests that Callinus is consciously seeking variation.¹¹ Variation may be a

⁹ In determining the position of the major caesura it is necessary to pay some attention to the meaning, even in a static analysis. (For the different ways in which the term "caesura" is used, see, e.g., S. E. Bassett, "The Hephthemimeral Caesura in Greek Hexameter Poetry," *TAPhA* 48 [1917] 85-110 and esp. n.1.) As I use the term, *Iliad* 1.3 *πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν* has hephthemimeral major caesura, since the natural pause in the line falls after *ψυχὰς*, whereas *Iliad* 1.12 *Ἀτρεΐδης ὁ γὰρ ἦλθε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν* has trochaic major caesura in the third foot, since *θοὰς*, in any natural reading of the line, must be phrased with what follows. (P. Maas, *Greek Metre*, tr. H. Lloyd-Jones [Oxford 1962] 60, hereafter referred to as Maas, evidently uses a different method, for he reckons about one hephthemimeral caesura to 100 lines of Homer, whereas by the method used here there are at least five — i.e., 3, 7, 10, 19, 20 — in the first twenty lines of *Iliad* 1. 16 could be read with a pause before or after *δύω*. The former seems preferable, since the dual *Ἀτρεΐδα* has already indicated that there are two of them, while the comparatively rare *κοσμήτωρ* is used to denote only the Atridae of those who are present before Troy. To indicate that there are two *κοσμήτορε λαῶν* — and no more — is to add a further point.)

Accordingly, I count Callinus 1.18 as a trochaic major caesura, 1.16 as penthemimeral, and 1.12 and 14 as hephthemimeral. Since *δέ*, though not enclitic, cannot stand first in its phrase or clause, I read *δέ* with the previous phrase in such lines as 1.8, and so reckon the caesura as trochaic.

¹⁰ See n.6 above.

¹¹ He seems less concerned to vary his hexameter endings (though more so than Tyrtaeus; see p. 75 below); but contrast, e.g., Homer *Iliad* 6.80-87, where eight consecutive lines end in a trisyllabic word.

poetical effect in its own right: I defer the question whether it here subserves a further purpose.

If we next consider the position of the major marks of punctuation,¹² the impression of variation consciously sought is reinforced. The brief opening question runs to the trochaic caesura in the third foot of line 1; the second to the end of the dactylic first foot of 2; the third question, like the first, ends at the trochaic caesura, but is much longer. The next sentence we can confidently punctuate ends at the end of 5; but there must have been a major mark of punctuation in the lacuna, and the comma after the first trochee of 4 is worth noting. The next sentence occupies more than a couplet, ending after the long syllable in the second dactylic foot of 8; the next runs to the diaeresis of the pentameter in 9; the next to the end of 11, with a significant pause after the first (spondaic) foot of 11. From 12 onwards the heaviest stops are at the ends of the lines (13, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21); but variety is derived from the positioning of the lesser stops — the comma after the first syllable of 13, after the first (dactylic) foot of 15, and after a word of molossus length at the beginning of 19 — while the run-on of the sentence past the end of the couplet in 15 to the end of the hexameter in 16 gives an unusual effect. At least four of the pentameters of this poem are not end-stopped, or have a stop lighter than a raised stop: 2, 7, 9, and 15. (Whether the end of 4 constituted the end of the sentence is unclear, and West wisely prints no mark of punctuation there.)

So much for static analysis. Callinus is evidently varying lengths of clause and sentence as a conscious effect. Such variation is a pleasing effect in itself, and would be a positive quality even if Callinus had no further goal in using it.

But as soon as we examine his words from a dynamic point of view, it becomes apparent that much more was in his mind. This is a poem of impassioned appeal in a crisis: Callinus was not seeking the approbation of the literary critic but a vigorous response from the allegedly slothful young warriors. Nevertheless, the resources of poetry — and rhetoric — are not irrelevant to his purposes.

The poem begins with a short, stabbing question. (In all early elegiac poetry, it is more prudent to write "the poem as we have it begins . . ."; but the absence of a connecting particle, and the effectiveness of such

¹² Though not canonical, the punctuation of modern editors gives an indication of the manner in which the major sense-groups are arranged in the lines. (I follow throughout West's punctuation [above, n.1], which in this poem differs from, and is superior to, that of other editors. See below, p. 66.)

an opening, make it likely that this is the first line of the poem.) Callinus follows it with another: *κότ' ἄλκιμον ἔξετε θυμόν*; and the fact that the sentence could end there, so far as concerns syntax, gives even greater emphasis to *ὦ νέοι* than is given to it by its positioning, followed by a heavy stop, at the beginning of the pentameter. The young are the first line of defense and attack; if for some reason they are ineffective or insufficient, their elders too must fight; and the emphasis on *ὦ νέοι* here suggests that, as in Tyrtaeus' Sparta, there may be some expressed conflict of interest.

The next question makes use of the same poetic-rhetorical device. Syntactically it is complete, and the couplet is complete, at *ἀμφιπερικτίονας*, syllabically the longest word in the poem, occupying the second half of the pentameter and lending rhetorical weight to the important motive for action¹³ which it contains. The question already has great rhetorical impact; and when the sentence continues into the next couplet, the feeling of combined overrun and new beginning conveyed by both metrical pattern and syntax renders the contemptuous *ὦδε λίην μεθιέντες* even more effective.

The next sentence (or rather two sentences, for there must surely have been a heavy stop in the lacuna) cannot be adequately discussed, since the lacuna has destroyed Callinus' poetic effect. It seems more probable to suppose, with Bergk,¹⁴ a lacuna of at least three lines rather than one, with Gesner; and to surmise that 4 was not end-stopped. If we print a heavy stop at the end of 4, and posit a lacuna of one line, we produce a couplet in which presumably an exhortation one line in length in the hexameter is paralleled by a one-line exhortation in the pentameter. Such parallelism is common enough in elegiac couplets, and is indeed a snare before the feet of the elegiac poet; but Callinus avoids it elsewhere in this carefully wrought poem. Furthermore, one line seems quite inadequate as a passage from the general statement of 4 to the vivid particularity of 5.¹⁵ So striking a picture demands a better frame than could be supplied in half a dozen words.

In the lines as we have them, we may note the effective placing of the

¹³ See below, p. 69.

¹⁴ T. Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci* (Leipzig 1915) ad loc. (hereafter referred to as Bergk).

¹⁵ I doubt, however, whether Bergk (above, n.14) is correct to suppose that in the missing verses Callinus "descripserat calamitates, quibus terra tunc premebatur, bello ut videtur contra Magnetis adversa fortuna gesto." I suspect the disappearance of a striking extended figure of speech rather than a resumé of the course of the war, or a mere description of present woes.

emphatic ἦσθαι at the beginning of its line, followed by a pause: effective in itself, and here a culmination of the effects produced by the similarly strongly positioned κατάκεισθε and μεθιέντες.

Line 6 continues with another sentence which proceeds in a continuous rush, ending only with an overrun of one word into the next couplet. To overrun δυσμενέσιν might appear bathetic: Callinus and his audience both know that it is the foe who is to be fought. But the effect is deliberate. Yet again, the word is syntactically unnecessary: "fight on behalf of one's native land, children and wedded wife" would have sufficed. Callinus has chosen to include it, not merely as an overrun word, but in hyperbaton after the whole pentameter. Now δυσμενέσιν denotes a group opposed in every sense to those mentioned in the pentameter; and the whole couplet is emotionally opposed, since it is concerned with what is dear and desirable, to the hostile and unpleasant expressed by δυσμενέσιν and by the *next* sentence down to ἐπικλώσωσ'. The function of the overrun δυσμενέσιν is to carry the sentence, over the boundary of the couplet, from the glories of defense to the realities of defense.¹⁶

To the end of 15, the poem is concerned with the realities of life and battle. θάνατος is placed prominently at the beginning of the next clause, juxtaposed with δυσμενέσιν. The effect of positioning θάνατος δέ . . . ἐπικλώσωσ' so that it is framed within its couplet by words from other sentences is that of a parenthetical statement, a point conceded: "Granted, death will be your lot when the Moirai spin it for you." But the strongest positions in the couplet are reserved for δυσμενέσιν and ἀλλά τις ἰθὺς ἵτω, the beginning of Callinus' positive exhortation,¹⁷ which is run on to ἔλσας, first foot spondaic word followed by a pause, admirably expressing the firm resolution of the warrior, particularly after the wholly dactylic preceding line.¹⁸ A similar effect is produced by ἄνδρ', a most unusual pause after the first syllable of the pentameter. The word and its positioning are each chosen with care. That no human being can escape death was, of course, a platitude even in Callinus' day,¹⁹ though a platitude that can be employed effectively in such exhortations as these. But Callinus raises his sentence suddenly above the level of platitude by writing not ἄνθρωπον, a human being, but ἄνδρ',

¹⁶ See also below on 14-16, p. 67.

¹⁷ For a discussion of the effectiveness of beginning a new sentence after the major caesura of the hexameter, see below, p. 82, on Tyrtaeus 10.27.

¹⁸ The light dactylic line 10 is not particularly appropriate to the sense in itself; but the contrast with ἔλσας is undeniably effective.

¹⁹ Notably found in *Iliad* 6.487 ff.

a warrior, a Man,²⁰ and placing it, in monosyllabic form, in the strongest possible position: "For in no way — to escape death at all events — is it *moira* for a / Warrior, even if he be sprung from forbears who are immortal." The run of the couplet, while conceding the inevitability of death, reminds the *νέοι* that they are not merely human beings but warriors, and links them in their warriorhood with such heroes as Achilles who, sprung of deities though they were, nevertheless died in battle. Nor should we think only of legendary heroes as having divine ancestry: many noble Greek families in historical times traced their lineage back to a deity. The reasoning is that all, even those sprung of deities, must die; but you are warriors, like Achilles and others of divine parentage. Emulate them; you can suffer no worse than they did.

The next couplet, 14–15, continues to state the realities of life; and is not complete in itself. The logic of Callinus' exposition demands that *φυγών* mean "having shunned, fled from, deliberately avoided" here,²¹ not "having (fought and) escaped death."²² Callinus is not saying that it is preferable to fight and die rather than to fight and live: he is opposing the view that it is better to be a live mouse than a dead lion, but this does not require him to hold that it is better to be a dead lion than a live one. It is the coward, not the living hero, who is *οὐκ ἔμπηξ δῆμῳ φίλος οὐδὲ ποθεινός*; and *ἦν τι πάθῃ* (17),²³ used of the man contrasted with the *φυγών*, makes it clear that the citizens, great and small, hope that he will *not παθεῖν τι*. The emphatic (and appropriately positioned) word is *ἔρχεται*, on which I shall have further comment later.²⁴

Most editors print a raised stop at the end of 15, a comma at the end of 16;²⁵ but West's comma at the end of 15, raised stop at the end of 16, is preferable, for there is a continuous sweep of thought from *πολλάκι*

²⁰ Cf. the use of *ἀνδρείος* in Greek and contrast the positioning of the word in Hector's *μοῖραν δ' οὐ τίνα φημι πεφυγμένον ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν*, *Iliad* 6.488, where the emphasis is on *μοῖραν* and *οὐ τίνα*.

²¹ So T. F. Higham, *Oxford Book of Greek Verse in Translation* (Oxford 1938) 183; "Many from war and ringing lance have sheltered, / Homeward fled: at home death finds them out."

²² J. M. Edmonds, *Greek Elegy and Iambus* I (London 1931) 47, "returneth safe from the war," is evidently incorrect.

²³ Cf. also 19, *ζῶων δ' ἄξιος ἡμιθέων*.

²⁴ Below, p. 72 f. T. Hudson-Williams, *Early Greek Elegy* (London 1926), observes that *ἔρχεσθαι* is the regular word for the homecoming of Odysseus (e.g., *Odyssey* 14.382 ff), and is accordingly appropriate here with *ἐν δ' οἴκῳ*.

²⁵ E.g. Bergk (above n. 14), Edmonds (above n. 22), and D. A. Campbell in *Greek Lyric Poetry* (London 1967), hereafter referred to as Campbell.

to ποθεινός, the whole of which is contrasted with 17. Callinus is saying that the coward is nonetheless overtaken by death; but there is no word for "coward" in 14-15. The transition from 13 to 14 is awkward with any punctuation; but with a full stop after θανάτου (15), 14-15 can refer only to ἄνδρες in general, the subject of the previous couplet. In fact, as West's punctuation indicates, the subject of thought in 14-15 is "the one, the coward," in Callinus' mind but not expressed until 16. Then τὸν δ' (17), otherwise rather unclear (since ὁ μὲν also is unclear), becomes easier as "the other," not earlier mentioned, but, in contrast with the whole of 14-16, evidently "he who does not shrink from war."

If it is accepted that there is a continuous movement of thought from πολλάκι to ποθεινός, two further points can be made. Line 16, in overrunning the couplet 14-15, performs much the same function as does δυσμενέσιν in 8: it is pendant to its sentence, and introduces a new consideration, which is forthwith elaborated. As δυσμενέσιν introduced the grim realities of war, so 16 introduces the evaluation of different forms of death. Like δυσμενέσιν, it is used by Callinus as a means of preventing his poem from being a mere series of couplets (always a danger with elegiac verse). The drawbacks, to a poet in Callinus' situation, are not merely aesthetic: it is urgent that the νέοι be induced to fight, and to fight bravely; and such means as these of binding together his poem and his thought have great practical, as well as artistic, value. Two of the major transitions of thought in the poem are thus made rhetorically and poetically more effective by very similar devices.

Furthermore, to overrun an elegiac couplet to the end of the next hexameter, and there, as in this case, to have a strong pause, is to produce a movement which the ear does not expect. Not only is the strong pause expected at the end of the pentameter absent; it occurs at the end of the hexameter, where it is not expected. The effect is similar to that of an imperfect cadence in music: the ear expects a perfect cadence to follow, and is alert for what will in fact follow.

What follows here (17, elaborated in 18-21) is the heart of Callinus' message: all must die, but the warrior can so live as to enjoy the esteem of a demigod while he lives, and a glorious lasting memory after his death. The message is important practically; and Callinus uses all his art to ensure that it receives attention.

Lines 18-19 contain another overrun, the molossus θνήσκοντος,²⁶ whose heavy weight and position admirably suit its importance and meaning; and it is neatly juxtaposed with the contrasted ζώων. Of the

²⁶ On the tense, see Bergk (above, n.14) ad loc.

structure of the last couplet there is little to say. The poem moves to a straightforward conclusion.

I now turn to consider the manner in which Callinus uses the Homeric element in this poem.

That every word in Callinus 1, apart from ἀμφιπερικτίονας and ποθεινός, is found in the Homeric poems is not in dispute.²⁷ But this may indicate much or nothing about the nature and quality of Callinus' poem. A poet might use only words found in Shakespeare or Milton without producing, or wishing to produce, poetry which resembled that of Shakespeare or Milton. It is true that the Homeric dialect is distinctive; but this need lend nothing specific to a poem written in a different meter. Even borrowed phrases or formulae may be employed in different ways by different poets; and we cannot declare a priori what the effect of borrowing a phrase or formula must be, even when the phrase is famous, and has one readily definable earlier context. Macbeth's lines beginning "Tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow"²⁸ have been used as a quarry for play- and novel-titles more than any other passage of English literature known to me. Furthermore, those who obtained their titles from this source knew that they were doing so; that the phrases were coined by Shakespeare for this speech; and that at least some of their readers would recognize the words as Shakespearean and would be able to place them in their context. In fact, so far as I am aware none of these authors drew upon the knowledge which they shared with at least some of their prospective readers that the words in question were originally spoken by Macbeth, a royal murderer despairing as he sees his gains slipping away from him. Yet the authors concerned could have used the opportunity for allusion to enrich their own work; and so, perhaps, might Callinus, Tyrtaeus, and other early poets. There was by this time a corpus of Homeric poetry,²⁹ evidently known to those

²⁷ See, e.g., Campbell (above, n.25) 162.

²⁸ Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, 5.5.19 ff.

²⁹ I assume virtually without argument in this paper that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* substantially as we know them existed in the time of Callinus and Tyrtaeus, and that they were acquainted not merely with epic vocabulary, but with the epics themselves. (Their presumed acquaintance also with other epics now lost inevitably renders only partial the success of any attempt to evaluate influences and allusions; but the attempt seems worth making nonetheless.) Granted, Milman Parry's discovery (see the collected papers edited by Adam Parry in *The Making of Homeric Verse* [Oxford 1971] passim) that Homer's style is typical of oral poetry would, if we take the further step of supposing that the poems are in some way linked to an actual oral tradition, permit the sceptical suggestion that Tyrtaeus knew the lines which we find in our *Iliad* in the mouth

elegiac poets who draw upon its phrases, and therefore, presumably, known also to the original audiences of these poets. The phrases of Homeric poetry are not all as striking as those in Macbeth's speech; but some are memorable, and some occur rarely, or once only, and that too in a memorable context. The opportunity for allusion exists; I shall inquire whether Callinus and Tyrtaeus make use of it in these poems.

1-2. *κατακείσθαι* is Homeric, and not common. It occurs nine times, including three in the *Hymn to Hermes*.³⁰ Callinus uses it of reclining in sloth when stern action is needed. Homer does not; he uses it of writhing in a torment of grief; of a hare cowering in a thicket; of a boar in its lair; and a child in its cradle.³¹ There is no allusion, and the word has no definite connotation: it merely denotes a recumbent posture. *ἄλκιμος* and *θυμός* are both common Homeric words, but *ἄλκιμον...θυμόν* is not in extant Homeric poetry, *ἄλκιμον ἦτορ* being the formula.³² *ἦτορ* is unsuitable here, since it begins with a vowel. This is not a vividly creative use of language, but it already indicates a poet not slavishly bound to the Homeric formula. *ἀμφιπερικτίονας* is not Homeric.

3-4. *μεθιέναι* is used intransitively some 25 times in Homer. If the audience remembered Hector's rebuke to Paris (*Iliad* 6.523), Callinus' point would be reinforced, for it would place them in the position of Paris, Callinus in that of Hector. But the word is too common, and the hearers were unlikely to remember this passage in particular. The line is strong in itself: *μάχης μεθιέναι* is always *αἰσχροόν* in early Greek.³³ The sentiment in the lines resembles the words of Iris (*Iliad* 2.796), but not closely enough for reminiscence.

5. All the words are Homeric, but they are used to paint so novel and vivid a picture that it is difficult to imagine what pejorative value judgment could be based on this fact.

6-7. Callinus uses *τιμῆν* and *ἀγλαόν* in a creative rhetorical and

of Priam in a quite different epic context. The scepticism is possible; but I do not myself share it, and it seems to be in fact rare among those who (like myself) acknowledge the influence of oral tradition on the Homeric poems. On the priority of Homer to Tyrtaeus 10.21-30, see W. J. Verdenius, "Tyrtaeus 6-7D," *Mnemosyne* 22 (1969) 337 ff (hereafter referred to as Verdenius).

³⁰ *Iliad* 17.677; 24.10, 523, 527; *Odyssey* 11.45; 12.532; 19.439; *Hymn to Hermes* 254, 324, 358.

³¹ *Iliad* 24.10; 17.677; *Odyssey* 19.439; *Hymn to Hermes* 254.

³² It occurs seven times, if we include *Iliad* 21.571 (where *ἄλκιμον* occurs in the next line). The others are *Iliad* 5.529; 16.209, 264; 17.111; 20.169; and *Hymn* 27.9. The phrase occurs also in Callinus 1.10.

³³ In *Iliad* 10.121 Agamemnon rebukes the old man Nestor for *μεθιέναι*.

poetical manner. *τιμῆς* is used in Homer of persons, to denote one who possesses or gains status-enhancing material goods, as when Telemachus responds to Antinous' scoffing suggestion that Telemachus may become king (*Odyssey* 1.392 f):

οὐ μὲν γάρ τι κακὸν βασιλευμένῳ αἰψά τέ οἱ δῶ
ἄφνειον πέλεται καὶ τιμῆστερος αὐτός.

It is also used of gold (e.g., *Iliad* 18.475, *Odyssey* 8.393, 11.327); and we find the phrase δῶρον τιμῆν, μάλα καλόν (*Odyssey* 1.312). A gift may also be ἀγλαόν, as in *Iliad* 11.124. Indeed, ἀγλαὰ δῶρα occurs twelve times³⁴ to denote gifts, in Ebeling's words,³⁵ "qualia a regibus atque diis dantur." ἀγλαόν is also used of pure water (*Iliad* 2.307), fine garments (*Odyssey* 10.223), admirable children (*Iliad* 18.337, etc.), and in the common patronymic phrase ἀγλαόν υἱόν with an appropriate genitive of the father.

In Homer, these adjectives are applied to what is desirable on the grounds that it enhances one's status, glory or material well-being, or — in the case of phrases like ἀγλαόν ὕδωρ — what is shining, beautiful (and pleasant to drink?). Each is used in the context of fighting, but in a significantly different manner from Callinus' usage. When Phoenix (*Iliad* 9.605) said to Achilles that if he delayed his return to the fray until the enemy reached the ships, οὐκέθ' ὁμῶς τιμῆς ἔσσαι πόλεμόν περ ἀλαλκῶν, he meant that if Achilles returned now, when Agamemnon was promising gifts, he would receive τιμή — the said gifts³⁶ — and therefore become more τιμήεις; but if he fought later, because he had to do so in order to save his own ship along with the others, the Greeks would not give him τιμή, so that he would not be as τιμήεις as he might have been. Similarly, a ransom or recompense, ἄποινα, may be ἀγλαά. The only aspect of fighting of which ἀγλαόν is used is that of raising a victory shout (e.g., *Iliad* 7.203).³⁷ There is no suggestion that fighting in itself is ἀγλαόν.

The Greeks before Troy were fighting for τιμή, status-enhancing material goods. Defenders of a city are likely to gain little material τιμή. They are more concerned with avoiding material loss, the loss of

³⁴ *Iliad* 1.213; 4.97; 16.86; 24.447, 534; *Odyssey* 11.357; 16.230; 19.413, 460; 24.314; *Hymn to Hermes* 462, 470.

³⁵ H. Ebeling, *Lexicon Homericum* (Leipzig 1885) s.v. ἀγλαόν.

³⁶ On τιμή, see my "'Honour' and 'Punishment' in the Homeric Poems," *BICS* 7 (1960) 1 ff.

³⁷ On εὖχος, see my "εὐχομαι, εὐχολή and εὖχος in Homer," *CQ* 19 (1969) 20 ff.

all their *τιμή*, if the city is captured. The desire to avoid such loss might appear to be sufficient motive; but both Callinus and Tyrtaeus find the warriors of their respective cities insufficiently active and effective.³⁸ In this situation Callinus employs a strikingly novel usage: he applies two adjectives which have not been used to denote fighting but which have very desirable connotations and a high emotive charge derived from what they have been used to denote, to the act of fighting for one's land and one's family in itself, with the intention of endowing such fighting with all the desirable connotations and emotive charge possessed by the adjectives.

This is a creative use of language, a creative extension of Homeric language, if indeed we should still speak of Homeric language when merely the words, not the manner of their employment, are found in Homer. With an effort of the historical imagination we can recapture the original freshness of the line. Callinus, of course, was not primarily concerned with literary success, but with practical effects. He might well hope for such effects: the language is not only fine poetry but excellent military rhetoric; and in both roles it does not tamely echo Homeric usage, but employs the resources supplied by that usage for a creative un-Homeric effect.

In 7, *κουριδίης τ' ἀλόχου* is a Homeric formula. No particular Homeric reminiscence can be intended: the phrase is too common.³⁹

In 8 and 9, the realities of warfare are described in Homeric language, but it is the general sentiment, not the phrases, that reminds the reader of Homer:⁴⁰ no one acquainted with the *Iliad* could fail to remember Hector's reflections on the inevitability of *moira* and the demand that the warrior should fight, *Iliad* 6.486 ff.

Line 9 ends with a strong exhortation which runs over into the largely formulaic 10, which in turn runs over to the spondaic *ἔλασας*. Similarly, 12 and 13, though not formulaic in the strict sense, contain not merely Homeric but very common Homeric words. Any enrichment derived from Homer must be drawn from memory not of words but of events

³⁸ Callinus emphasizes the glory of victory and the shame of cowardice, rather than the disaster of utter defeat, as does Tyrtaeus 10.3-6: the impression given is that the crisis is somewhat less severe than at Sparta.

³⁹ It occurs nine times, of which *Iliad* 1.114 refers to Clytemnestra, 7.392 and 13.626 to Helen, of whom Callinus presumably did not wish to remind his audience.

⁴⁰ Campbell (above, n.25) 162 points out that *ἀλλά τις αὐτὸς ἴτω* *Iliad* 17.254 is the beginning of a Homeric line, slightly varied by Callinus. (But it seems not impossible that Callinus could have composed so ordinary a phrase for himself.)

and persons: of Achilles, sprung of a goddess but doomed to an early death, or of Zeus' own son Sarpedon whom he unavailingly tries to save (*Iliad* 16.433 ff). Again, 14 contains only frequent Homeric words and one formula (δοῦπον ἀκόντων), and is overrun to ἔρχεται in 15.

In three successive couplets the hexameter contains only common familiar Homeric words, and is overrun by one word into the pentameter. The effect, as already said, is to highlight ἔλσας, ἄνδρ', and ἔρχεται. But there is more to be said. Variations of tempo, phrase length, and emotional intensity are important resources of poet and orator alike; and here Callinus writes three hexameters of low poetic intensity, judged in terms of the language employed, and highlights his sentence in each case by one word, of a different syllabic length on each occasion, overrun into the pentameter. Those parts of a speech or poem which are written at a lower degree of intensity contribute much to the total effect; for it is by contrast that the more intense parts of the work produce their impact. I do not suggest that Callinus could have expressed what he has to say in these hexameters with great power and originality, and chose not to. Like other early elegiac poets, he is engaged in a difficult struggle to evolve an individual style. However, art is a matter of making the most effective use of the medium in which one is working, which has always its own limitations and recalcitrance; and the device of counterpointing the familiar Homeric language — the medium with which Callinus must work — of the hexameters against the three highlighted words produces a total effect which is good poetry and good rhetoric.

Line 11 ends with a metaphor which is un-Homeric, and doubtless Callinus' own. μείγνυμι is common enough in Homer. It is used literally of mixing wine (e.g., *Odyssey* 1.110), or φάρμακα (*Odyssey* 4.230), or of the mingling of winds (*Odyssey* 5.317). It is used with a personal subject of men fighting (e.g., *Iliad* 4.456), προμάχοισι μιγέντα, or closely similar phrases, being frequent (e.g., *Iliad* 4.354). The closest usage to that of Callinus occurs at *Iliad* 20.374, where we have τῶν δ' ἄμυδις μίχθη μένος, ὥρτο δ' αὐτή. Elsewhere in Homer, in passages concerned with fighting, μείγνυμι has a personal subject. Even here, the persons are not far away: "their μένος" is not far from "they with μένος."⁴¹ In Callinus, however, it is πόλεμος that is being mixed; and this is a new metaphor, employing, as metaphors do, the wide range of usage of the word. It seems likely to be a metaphor from the mixing of wine, when the dark wine and the clear water are mingled confusedly, not yet

⁴¹ For μένος and μενεαίνειν, see my "Threatening, Abusing and Feeling Angry in the Homeric Poems," *JHS* 89 (1969) 7 ff.

fully mixed,⁴² with the liquid turbulent from the action of the ladle. κρατήρ is used later as a metaphor, as in Aeschylus' τοσῶνδε κρατήρ' ἐν δόμοις κακῶν...πλήσας (*Agam.* 1397). The effect is enriched by awareness of the use of μείγνυσθαι with personal subjects, which must have been recalled to the minds of the Greek audience. Once again, this is a new use of language; and one which draws new resources from Homeric forms of expression, rather than merely reflecting them.

Line 15 contains only Homeric words, but avoids a readily available formula: κατὰ μοῖρ' ἔλαβεν μέλανος θανάτοιο (*Odyssey* 17.326). μοῖρ' ἔλαβεν θανάτου or μοῖρα λάβεν θανάτου would scan here; but Callinus writes κίχεν.

In 16, all the words except ποθεινός are Homeric, but δῆμῳ φίλος does not occur as a phrase. In 17, though all the words are Homeric, μέγας and ὀλίγος are used in quite un-Homeric senses. μέγας is used of human beings only in a literal sense, to denote size, in Homer. It is used of gods in passages in which we, and later Greeks, would interpret it as meaning "powerful," but which earlier Greeks may have taken in a more literal sense.⁴³ ὀλίγος is rarely used of human beings in Homer, but is used of Ajax son of Oileus in a literal sense in *Iliad* 2.529. In Callinus both ὀλίγος and μέγας are evidently status terms, denoting poor and rich, or members of the lower and upper class, respectively.⁴⁴ It is a reasonable surmise that this is an Ephesian usage, and once again little seems to be gained by terming the language Homeric.

18-19. The form of the couplet is similar to that of 10 f, 12 f, and 14 f, save that the overrun word is a molossus. All the words are Homeric, and κρατερόφρονος ἀνδρός is a formula.⁴⁵ The word κρατερόφρων is not common in Homer, and is used only of Odysseus, Heracles, Castor, and Pollux. There is no specific allusion, but a word so restricted in its usage must have connotations of great strength and endurance. To use it is powerful commendation, and the choice of the word, good rhetoric. ἡμιθέων occurs only once in Homer (*Iliad* 12.23), in a passage in which the poet is reminiscing about the Greek warriors before Troy from the point of view of a later age.⁴⁶ Callinus desires a

⁴² This is presumably the point of τὸ πρῶτον. The metaphor is unlikely to be drawn from winds (*Odyssey* 5.317), for the winds are plural: one cannot μείγνυσθαι one wind.

⁴³ Gods are portrayed in art as larger than mortals, e.g., in *Iliad* 18.516 ff.

⁴⁴ Cf. the use of παχύς in Herodotus 5.30, 77; 6.91.

⁴⁵ It occurs at *Odyssey* 4.33; 17.124.

⁴⁶ As is observed, e.g., by W. Leaf and M. A. Bayfield, *The Iliad of Homer* (London 1895) ad loc.

similar effect. The brave warrior of his own day will have the worth of an Homeric hero, now viewed as a veritable demigod. Powerful rhetoric indeed!

Lines 20 and 21 may display a different method of using Homeric resources. Callinus says that the people look upon the steadfast warrior as if he were a *πύργος*. *πύργος* is used metaphorically of an individual only once in Homer.⁴⁷ In *Odyssey* 11.556 Odysseus, encountering the shade of Ajax, assures him

τὰ δὲ πῆμα θεοὶ θέσαν Ἀργείοισι·
τοῖος γάρ σφιν πύργος ἀπώλεο· σείο δ' Ἀχαιοὶ
ἴσον Ἀχιλλῆος κεφαλῇ Πηληϊάδαο
ἄχνύμεθα φθιμένοιο διαμπερές.

Now if Callinus meant his audience, on reading *πύργος* in 20, to remember this passage, he was using association to increase the power of his line by allusion to a particular Homeric warrior. Whether such allusion is used by early elegiac poets is one of the subjects of the remainder of this paper. Demonstration must depend on a balance of probabilities. If more than a certain number of passages occur in which the allusion, if taken, would greatly increase the power of the elegiac lines, I would argue that coincidence becomes in fact the less likely explanation.

In this case, *Odyssey* 11.556 ff must have been a well-known passage, and the repeated portrayal of Ajax with a shield *ἥντε πύργον*⁴⁸ might be expected to make the association of *πύργος* and Ajax easier. (It may have suggested the metaphor to the author of *Odyssey* 11.) Furthermore, the resemblance between the two passages is stronger than I have so far suggested: in both the death, actual or possible, of the warrior is emphasized, and the great grief of those whom he defended in life. True, we must not remember how and why Ajax died, and Ajax is in general not the most attractive of Homeric warriors. But (a) an allusion may be more or less complete,⁴⁹ (b) in the passage to which allusion is made

⁴⁷ In *Iliad* 4.334, 347, *πύργος* is interpreted as "column, battalion." This usage occurs only in these passages in extant Greek; but if it was an established usage in the Greek known to Callinus, this too would enrich the meaning of Callinus 1.20.

⁴⁸ *Iliad* 7.219; 11.485; 17.128. This is a whole-line formula, and is likely to have occurred also in many contexts now lost.

⁴⁹ The allusion in *ἀνδράσι μαρνάμενοι* (Tyrtaeus 10.18, discussed below, p. 91) is to Achilles and his mighty deeds. The Homeric original occurs in a speech where Achilles is declining to fight: the audience is evidently to remember the immediately adjacent lines, but not the wider context.

Odysseus does not refer precisely to the manner of Ajax's death, (c) since Odysseus is trying to placate the shade of Ajax, he emphasizes (551 f and the lines quoted) that Ajax was inferior to Achilles alone. If the allusion were taken, then, Callinus would be in a position to imply that the warriors of 20 and 21 are worthy of comparison with Ajax in beauty and valor. I ask my readers to defer judgment on the possibility of such allusion until the end of the discussion.

TYRTAEUS 10

Static analysis: four hexameters end in disyllables (3, 11, 13, 17), ten in trisyllables (1, 5, 7, 9, 15, 19, 21, 23, 25, 29), one in a quadrisyllable (27), and one in a pentesyllable (31). Furthermore, two of the four disyllables (11, 13) occur in adjacent couplets. Callinus seemed little concerned to achieve variation in the length of hexameter endings; Tyrtaeus seems even less concerned with this. Like Callinus, Tyrtaeus favors the trochaic caesura in the third foot,⁵⁰ over half (1, 7, 11, 13, 15, 17, 21, 25, 27) being of this form, with only three penthemimeral (9, 19, 31) and four hephthemimeral caesurae (3, 5, 23, 29).

Tyrtaeus has five disyllabic pentameter endings (16, 26, 28, 30, 32), including four in sequence, six trisyllabic (6, 8, 10, 12, 20, 24), including four in sequence, three quadrisyllabic (2, 14, 18), one pentesyllabic (22), and one hexasyllabic (4). Callinus seemed to seek variety here for its own sake. Tyrtaeus evidently does not. Variety for its own sake is not of course the only available poetic choice. The content of the lines might suggest particular types of ending in each case; and the poet might regard this as a more important criterion than mere variety. Certainly the hexasyllable ἀνιηρότατον gives a heavy, mournful close to a line which benefits from it and has otherwise some poetic weakness;⁵¹ and the pentesyllable παλαιότερον also lends desirable weight to its line; but the other pentameter endings seem designed to produce no particular effects.

Of the sixteen hexameters in the poem, eight are printed without end stops by West; but only 29 and 31 are overrun to a pause *within* the pentameter. An elegiac poem which contains many couplets in which the only stop occurs at the end of the pentameter runs the risk of becoming monotonous.⁵² I shall discuss the couplets separately below; but note

⁵⁰ For my method of analysis, see n.9, above.

⁵¹ See below, p. 77.

⁵² This is especially evident when such couplets occur in sequence, as in 1-6 of this poem.

here that 5-6 are an extreme example of this form of couplet. In fact, only eight of the thirty-two lines are printed by West with a stop within the line at all (9, 15, 19, 20, 21, 29, 30, 32); and one of these (15) is a comma after the vocative case. Except in 30 and 32, the line containing the stop is preceded by a line stopped with at least a comma. The poetry, unlike that of Callinus 1, is composed by the couplet, or even the line, rather than the paragraph. The commas within the lines have a merely clarificatory function.

We must now inquire whether the arrangement of the words in Tyrtaeus' poem has any dynamic function at all; for it would be possible that a work derived all such effect from the emotive charge on the individual words in themselves.

One of Tyrtaeus' devices — a very simple one — is to place the most important word or phrase at the beginning of the line: *τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλόν* (1), *ἄνδρ' ἀγαθόν* (2), *πτωχεύειν* (4), *πλαζόμενον* (5), *ἐχθρός* (7), *χρημοσύνη* (8), *αἰσχύνει* (9), etc. Sometimes he places an emphatic word or phrase at the end of the pentameter also: *ἀνιηρότατον* (4), *στυγερῇ πενίῃ* (8). We have here a much more restricted artistic armory than that of Callinus, if this indeed be all; and some of Tyrtaeus' other effects, or rather methods of composing a line, do not raise one's expectations. His lines seek emphasis by the use of parallel phrases used in amplification, as in 3, *τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ προλιπόντα πόλιν καὶ πύονας ἄγρους*, or 8, *χρημοσύνη τ' εἰκὼν καὶ στυγερῇ πενίῃ*.

Such lines are not necessarily inferior poetry, taken in isolation: 8 is an excellent line. At its worst, however, as in 5-6, it may degenerate into a mere list; and so simple a structure of composition rapidly becomes monotonous if frequently repeated, as Tyrtaeus repeats it here: 3, 8, 16, 23 have one verb with two objects; 17, 26 have two adjectives in parallel; 10 and 11-12 have two (or with Bergk's reading in 11-12,⁵³ more) subjects in parallel. Tyrtaeus in these lines uses two or more parallel phrases to elaborate and add emotional intensity; and does so eleven times in this poem of thirty-two lines. There is more to say about the poem, and about the lines concerned; but it is evident that, in this poem at all events,⁵⁴ Tyrtaeus is employing a much more restricted range of effects derived from word order and arrangement than does Callinus. Callinus has lines of this shape: 6, 7, 14, 16. (Line 17 has the

⁵³ Bergk (above, n.14) reads *εἰ δ' οὕτως ἀνδρός τοι ἀλαμένον οὐδεμί' ὥρη / γίγνεται, οὐτ' αἰδώς οὐτ' ὅπης οὐτ' ἔλεος*. Verdenius (above, n.29) 344 agrees. For the reading *εἰ δ' οὕτως* (MSS *εἰθ'*), see below, p. 78.

⁵⁴ In a subsequent discussion I shall argue that, e.g., Tyrtaeus 12 exemplifies some poetic characteristics which hardly, if at all, appear in 10.

adjectives *in contrast*.) But in his poem they constitute one resource out of many: 6 is a striking line in itself, as I have shown; the single line 7 should be contrasted with the couplet 5–6 in Tyrtaeus, a mere list of two lines to end the sentence, whereas Callinus follows his one line with the striking and effective *δυσμενέσιν*;⁵⁵ the less pointed 14 is followed by *ἔρχεται* (and if one included 10 as an example of this kind, which it is not, since *ἔλσας* governs the second phrase, *ἔλσας* again intensifies the poetic effect); and 16, as I have shown, is very powerful in its place in the paragraph.

It is possible, however, that Tyrtaeus has other resources not used by Callinus. I shall consider this possibility next, taking the poem couplet by couplet.

The first line of Lycurgus' quotation⁵⁶ may or may not be the first line of Tyrtaeus' poem. *Prima facie* the *γάρ* suggests that the first sentence is an explanation of an earlier line; and the structure of 1–6, particularly its artistically feeble close, is easier to understand aesthetically if the lines are an explanation of some (it is to be hoped) more vigorous opening statement rather than themselves the beginning of the poem. On the other hand, Verdenius⁵⁷ compares *Odyssey* 17.78–83, and argues that *γάρ* refers forward to 13, and that the poem began with our line 1. If so, the effect of 30 is enhanced.⁵⁸

The structure of the first two couplets is linked: *τεθνάμεναι* and its qualifying *καλόν* are, as a unit, chiastically opposed to *πτωχεύειν* with its qualifying *ἀνιηρότατον*, as are *ἄνδρ'...μαρνάμενον* with *τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ...πίονας ἀγρούς*. This is in itself a positive touch; but by the time *πτωχεύειν* is reached, the mind has comprehended the principle of ordering the words, and there is an inevitable feeling that the power of the line is declining. This is an ever present hazard for the elegiac poet, particularly in the second half of the pentameter, which tends to have the effect of an ebbing wave, ill suited to martial or political exhortation. Callinus composed his poem in such a way as to counter this effect. Tyrtaeus, however, appends the next couplet (5–6) to his sentence, a mere continuation depending on a participle set, as a result of his simple principles of word arrangement, at the beginning of its phrase. In consequence, his list of prepositional phrases is a mere appendage to an

⁵⁵ Above, p. 65.

⁵⁶ Lycurg. *In Leocr.* 107.

⁵⁷ 337 f. For further discussion and references, see C. Prato, *Tirteo* (Rome 1968) 87 (hereafter referred to as Prato).

⁵⁸ See below, pp. 83, 96.

appendage, and the whole sentence ends weakly. To say this is not to deny the emotive power of the ideas expressed, in a situation of urgent crisis; nor yet, as we shall see, the novelty of some of the ideas; but the most emotive ideas, however urgent the crisis, benefit from rhetorically or poetically effective expression, as we have seen in Callinus; and the content of his poem as a whole shows that Tyrtaeus is aware that the most effective means available are needed to spur the young men to action.

Lines 7-8 begin strongly. Tyrtaeus again places a strong word at the beginning (*ἐχθρός*). The least emotive words of the couplet are placed in the remainder of the hexameter, while the pentameter consists almost entirely of emotive words, with the weakest (*εἴκων*) appropriately in the weakest position in the centre of its phrase. Lines 9-10 also contain almost entirely highly emotive terms of value, and the hexameter is well designed: the chiasmic arrangement of the parallel clauses brings the powerful verbs *αἰσχύνει* and *ἐλέγχει* to emphatic positions at the beginning and end of the line. The order of the pentameter is prosaic.

If the four lines are taken together, the sequence of parallel main clauses must seem repetitious. Granted, this is an early poem, and parataxis is characteristic of Homeric poetry; but Callinus is more skillful in this aspect of poetic composition. In 9-10 we may set on the other side that the three clauses are of different, and increasing, lengths, giving the effect of a rhetorical tricolon; but Callinus combines poetry with rhetoric.

It is difficult to discuss the next couplet from an aesthetic point of view, since the text is so uncertain. West prints — and obelizes — the manuscripts' *εἰθ' οὕτως*, so that 11-12 is a complete sentence, and 13-14 a separate sentence in asyndeton. It would be rash to assert on aesthetic grounds that Tyrtaeus could not have composed his poem thus: one might suppose that in a poem of long sentences for the most part (1-6, 7-10, 15-20, 21-30) the poet thought that two short utterances would give an effect of vividness and directness. But abruptness is rather the effect: 11-12 are then a somewhat otiose and rather less colorful repetition of 7-10, while 13-14 are an exhortation which coheres poorly with the thought of either the preceding or the following verses. With Franke's emendation *εἰ δ'* for *εἰθ'*, however, 11-12 become the protasis of 13-14; and as a protasis their summing-up of 7-10 in cooler terms has a function. The mind is induced to review 7-10; there is a drop in emotional pressure during this reflection; and then, as part of the same movement of thought, there follows the vigorous exhortation to fight, if need be, to the death. It would be pleasant to suppose that the

effect was first produced by Tyrtaeus rather than by Franke. There is no proof; but the emendation is of the simplest.

Lines 13–14 are a powerful apodosis to 11–12; but the lines are not entirely happy. Enjambement is usually an aesthetically pleasing device; and *θνήσκωμεν* is in enjambement. Unfortunately, 13 in itself makes complete sense and, one would suppose, must have appeared even more strongly to the hearer than to the reader to be an example of a type of line which Tyrtaeus frequently writes, as I have already observed.⁵⁹ “Let us fight for this land and for our children!” The mind is satisfied; the sense is complete. *θνήσκωμεν* comes as a surprise; and not the kind of verbal surprise that strengthens a poem. On the other hand, all the words in the couplet are powerful, and none is wasted: *μηκέτι*, indeed, “no longer,” makes with great economy a strong point here introduced in the poem for the first time: the warriors have been hanging back, fearful of death, and the preceding lines with their contrasted pictures of the dead hero and the disgraced and wretched wanderer have been marshaled to induce them to cast off their hesitations. The verses we have considered thus far might, in fact, be deemed to constitute a rhetorical paragraph; but thus far we have seen little inducement to consider them as a poetical paragraph, or indeed as poetry at all.

In the 32-line poem as we have it, *μηκέτι* is thus a pivotal word; and accordingly I do not share West’s doubts concerning the unity of the poem. After *ψυχέων μηκέτι φειδόμενοι* we ought to expect detailed exhortations to action: this is not merely literature, but a composition produced in a crisis; and where a literary battle poet might have rounded off his argument and his paragraph at 14, and rested content, Tyrtaeus must be both more emotive and more specific.⁶⁰ *μηκέτι* leads into the second half of the poem.

In 15–16, *ὦ νέοι* is well placed, for there is now to be a contrast between *νέοι* and *γέροντες*; and it is desirable to make clear at once that Tyrtaeus is addressing the *νέοι*. (This was implied in 5–6, since the wanderer most in Tyrtaeus’ mind is of an age to have aged parents and young children; but Tyrtaeus now abandons argument and description for several lines in favor of direct exhortations.) The rest of the line is well-balanced. Position, and phrase-length, emphasize *παρ’ ἀλλήλοισι*

⁵⁹ If it was possible so to phrase the couplet as to render misinterpretation impossible, this criticism is irrelevant; but the *prima facie* resemblance of 13 to other lines of the poem was likely to mislead the ear unless very skilled phrasing was offered.

⁶⁰ Cf. Tyrtaeus 11.29 ff, whose function I shall discuss elsewhere. For other arguments for the unity of the poem, see Verdenius (above, n.29) 347.

μένοντες rather than μάχεσθε, as is appropriate: the war poems of Tyrtaeus as a whole make it clear that a novel type of fighting, approximating to hoplite warfare,⁶¹ in which it is necessary to stand fast in close order, is being enjoined upon warriors used to, as in Homer, a more fluid mode of fighting. It is not merely courage, but a specific and new manifestation of courage, that is needed. In 16, ἄρχετε is the least emphatic word by position; and this too is appropriate: the emphasis is not "Do not *begin* the flight (but it is in order to follow when others begin to run)" but "Do not begin *the flight*." φυγῆς . . . ἄρχετε is little more than a metrically convenient periphrasis for φεύγετε.⁶² In Homer φόβος for the most part means "flight," φυγή only occurring twice (*Odyssey* 12.117, 22.306), though φεύγω is a common word. It is to be hoped that for Tyrtaeus φόβος and φυγή are not identical in meaning, for this would be a pleonasm extreme even for him.⁶³ If φόβος means "fear," the line is pointed: "Do not merely not flee, but do not even feel fear." So interpreted, the words lead up well to 17, which gives positive instructions to complement the prohibition of 16.

17-18. The interlocking order of 17 is excellent, with the weaker words and ideas ποιείτε and ἐν φρεσὶ set between those which express the point of the line: μέγαν . . . καὶ ἄλκιμον . . . θυμόν. At first sight, however, there is little to be said for 18. φιλοψυχεῖτ' expresses no more than ψυχέων . . . φειδόμενοι; and ἀνδράσι μαρνάμενοι seems very bathetic: surely the young men of Sparta realize that they are fighting against warriors by this time. The line reads like a "filler," a phenomenon not unknown in elegiac poetry; but when considering the Homeric aspect of the poem, I shall suggest that there may be more to be said.

19-20. Here again there is a textual problem. The manuscripts have τοὺς γεραιούς (N) or τοὺς γηραιούς (A). The latter is metrically impossible, the former pleonastic after τοὺς δὲ παλαιοτέρους.⁶⁴ Numerous

⁶¹ On "approximating to hoplite warfare," see A. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons from the End of the Bronze Age to 600 B.C.* (Edinburgh 1964) 181 f. For the age of νέοι, see Verdenius (above, n.29) 345.

⁶² Prato (above, n.57) 93 seems to agree.

⁶³ The pleonasm would, however, be no more extreme than that in 19-20 of this poem as the lines appear in the manuscripts. Verdenius (above, n.29) 348 argues that φόβος must mean "panic flight" since "fear" can hardly depend on ἄρχετε. The conclusion may be correct, but I do not understand the argument. One can begin to fear; and, as I have said in the text, ἄρχετε is unemphatic, possibly chosen *metri gratia*. Prato (above, n.57) 93 argues that φόβος-φοβεῖσθαι may mean "paura-ho paura" already in Homer.

⁶⁴ Verdenius (above, n.29) 349 argues that "there is a climax in τοὺς γεραιούς (LSJ 'with notion of dignity')." He compares 8, 12, 16. Even so, the apposition is clumsy and the structure of the couplet awkward. See also Prato (above, n.57) ad loc.

emendations have been suggested, some (e.g., Kayser, ἀνηλεγέως) on the assumption that τοὺς γεραιούς has replaced a word or phrase of equivalent metrical length but no other resemblance. In general, however, no matter what word or words is suggested to replace τοὺς γεραιούς, a difficulty remains. The close collocation of ὦν οὐκέτι γούνατ' ἐλαφρά with μὴ καταλείποντες φεύγετε suggests that the old men are not nimble enough to keep up with their juniors in the flight; and that this is the reason why the young men are not to run away. In fact, making due allowance for the emphatic position of καταλείποντες, one might render "Do not leave the old men, whose knees are no longer nimble, behind as you run away," i.e., "run away slowly so that the older men can keep up," a sense which Tyrtaeus evidently did not intend.

No emendation of τοὺς γεραιούς removes this problem; and, since ὦν οὐκέτι γούνατ' ἐλαφρά has an authentic ring, it seems that Tyrtaeus has written a couplet of inferior sense. Difficulty of composition is a likely cause: ὦν οὐκέτι γούνατ' ἐλαφρά is a variant *metri gratia* on the Homeric γυῖα . . . ἐλαφρά. γυῖα, referring to hands and feet alike,⁶⁵ would not link the phrase closely with φεύγετε, for it would suggest that the old were less nimble at wielding weapons than the young. Metrical constraints seem to have compelled Tyrtaeus to write γούνατ'; and the clumsy and otiose τοὺς γεραιούς, if authentic, is doubtless another indication of his difficulties.⁶⁶

In 21–22, αἰσχρόν, the most emphatic word in its couplet, is characteristically placed first by Tyrtaeus. Though the second half of the

⁶⁵ B. Snell, *Tyrtaeus und die Sprache des Epos*, Hypomnemata 22 (Göttingen 1969) 46 (hereafter referred to as Snell 1969) argues that γυῖα may mean "knees," so that "ist das kein Mißbrauch epischen Vocabulars." True; but my point is that γυῖα may mean "hands" also (e.g., *Iliad* 5.122; 13.61; 23.772), and that the more specific γούνατα produces an effect undesirable in the context. Verdenius too (above, n.29) 349 holds that the choice of γούνατ' probably has a purely metrical reason.

⁶⁶ Were it possible to interpret καταλείπειν as "abandon" in a sense which allowed us to suppose that the old men are behind the city wall, as the older Trojans remain within Troy, the difficulty is removed. (The rest of the poem does not state clearly that the old men are on the battlefield now: 21 ff may refer to a hypothetical αἰσχρόν situation which will occur if the young do not fight bravely enough; and 15 ff are addressed to the νέοι alone.) In favor of a wider sense of καταλείπειν one might cite *Iliad* 21.414 (Athena to Ares) where, since ἀμύνειν means "help," καταλείπειν might be rendered as "not to help." But the literal sense of "go away and leave" seems to be never far away from καταλείπειν; and in Homer lesser gods such as Ares can help only when they are physically present. Such examples are not convincing. Again, though πρόσθε νέων (22) may mean "on behalf of" rather than literally "in front of" (e.g., *Iliad* 21.587), and furthermore occurs in a passage which could be hypothetical, the natural run of the lines, and of the poem as a whole, favors the traditional view.

hexameter is formulaic, the whole couplet is vivid: *κεῖσθαι*, a heavy spondaic word, again emphatically placed first, suits sound to subject-matter; and the long, weighty *παλαιότερον* has a similar effect.

Lines 23–27 undeniably contain not merely Homeric language but an extended allusion to a passage which appears in our Homer, which I shall discuss later.⁶⁷ In structure the lines are characteristic of Tyrtaeus' composition in this poem: each is separately composed and set end to end in a list whose words are vivid enough, but whose form lends little or nothing to the rhetorical or poetic effect, save that the poet endeavors to begin his lines with a strong word or phrase. The first half of 27 seem very bathetic: it is the last item of the list, and in no sense a climax; and it occurs in hyperbaton after a whole line containing a value judgment of what has preceded. Not all hyperbata are artistically effective:⁶⁸ *καὶ χροά γυμνωθέντα* here has the air of an afterthought, a "filler" of a kind sometimes necessitated by the couplet structure of the elegiac. In this case we can see why a filler might be needed. *νέοισι δὲ πάντ' ἐπέοικεν* is a very slight variant on the Homeric phrase which occurs in the passage to which extended allusion is being made here. For metrical reasons this phrase stands best at the end of a hexameter; for aesthetic reasons (to say nothing of imitative considerations) it is desirable that it should stand there. Accordingly, a first half is needed for the line. It would have been more effective to continue the value judgment of 26, thereby juxtaposing the value judgment passed upon the young with another such judgment; but Tyrtaeus chooses to continue his list. We may conclude that Tyrtaeus' desire for extended allusion has presented him with problems; but there are, as we shall see, compensatory advantages.

The remainder of the poem is structurally and dynamically much more successful. I have suggested that 27 is composed to allow the next sentence to begin after the major caesura. This is an effective device in hexameters or elegiac couplets: there is an upswing in the second half of the hexameter (counterpointed in elegiacs against the downswing of the second half of the pentameter), and a new sentence beginning after the caesura derives great vividness and vigor from this. The effect is increased when, as here, the hexameter is overrun without a pause into the pentameter. Tyrtaeus places in this position a strong (Homeric) clause, which he elaborates in the next three lines.

⁶⁷ See below, pp. 84, 91 ff. On the relationship of the passage to Homer, see Verdenius (above, n.29) 354, and on its content, J. M. Borovskij, "Ad Tyrtaeum 7.21–28D," *Eos* 53 (1963) 31–34.

⁶⁸ As, for example, is Callinus 1.7–8, discussed above, p. 65.

The couplet 29–30 contains one of Tyrtaeus' more careful structural effects in this poem.⁶⁹ Line 29 is a well-balanced chiasmic line, with the least emphatic word placed in the middle (and even *ἰδεῖν* is not unimportant, as will become apparent). The overrun *ζωὸς ἐὼν* is not without effectiveness, though the emphasis given to it by position and pause might appear to be "while he is alive, at all events." In the last four words of the couplet, however, once again a compositional problem seems to be discernible. The order is awkward. To this point, the couplet is chiasmic, and when *καλός* is juxtaposed to *ζωὸς ἐὼν* the mind is likely to seek another chiasmus. But *καλός* is not contrasted with *ζωὸς ἐὼν*. A further chiasmus (with *ἐρατός*) would require *καλός* to stand at the end of its phrase. In this position it would also be more emphatic; but Tyrtaeus may neither have wished nor have been able to place the word there. It is customary to state that in elegiacs the alpha of *καλός* may be long or short, while in Homer and in epic generally it is long. There is however no earlier extant example of *κᾶλός* in elegiacs.⁷⁰ The introduction of *κᾶλός* in verse must be linked with a change in ordinary pronunciation, and we cannot tell at what time *κᾶλός* first became acceptable; so that there is doubt whether Tyrtaeus (supposing him capable of supplying a suitable spondaic participle before the diaeresis) could have written *καλός* at the end of the pentameter. Even if he could have written *κᾶλός*, he might well have been deterred from doing so by a wish to echo his first line at the close of his penultimate couplet. (I shall return to this point later.) In this case, Tyrtaeus has given precedence to the claims of the structure of his poem as a whole over those of the couplet 29–30.

The last couplet of the poem (or of the lines preserved by Lycurgus) may claim to be the best designed. *εὖ διαβάς* is vigorous; the line could be divided either at the penthemimeral or hephthemimeral caesura, which renders *μένετω*, the most important word of the line, the word on which

⁶⁹ The repetition *ἐρατῆς* (28) . . . *ἐρατός* (29) doubtless seems aesthetically inept to the modern reader; but the ancients appear to have found such repetitions less offensive.

⁷⁰ Maas (above, n.9) 83 para. 134, writes, "Homer always has *κᾶλός* and *ἴσος*, but otherwise, except in epic, *κᾶλός* and *ἴσος* are regular, if not invariable." But the acceptability of *κᾶλός* must depend on pronunciation in daily life; and the earliest examples of *κᾶλός* appear to be Ananias 5.2 (trochaic tetrameter), dated to "sixth century" simply by West (above, n.1), and Solon 13.21. (The manuscripts of Mimnermus 1.6 have *κᾶλόν*, but *κακόν* [Hermann] is generally adopted; and *κᾶλά* in Solon 9.6 is a supplement.) The two occurrences of *καλός* in lines deemed by West to be authentic Theognis have *ā* (7, 242), but *ᾱ* occurs several times elsewhere in the Theognid corpus, e.g., 17 (*bis*; but *ā* in 16), 282, 652.

the line pivots; *ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροισι* gives a slight lowering of tension, since the phrase adds merely a descriptive touch; but this renders the vivid word *στηριχθείς*, endowed with added force by its being a molossus at the beginning of the line (cf. 4, 9, 14: this is a Tyrtaean effect), all the more effective; and the line ends with a striking phrase which I shall discuss later.

So far as concerns structure and the formal qualities of his verse, Tyrtaeus in this poem shows himself much less skillful (or even aware of poetic possibilities of this kind) than does Callinus. Poets, however, have other resources. Tyrtaeus is in some sense using Homeric vocabulary; and we may inquire whether he is using it in the same manner as Callinus.

I shall discuss the couplets in sequence; but we may note first that the poem ends with a passage which not merely echoes Homeric vocabulary, but makes an extended allusion to a well-known passage of our *Iliad*.⁷¹ I use the word "allusion" neutrally here: I shall inquire how Tyrtaeus is using the lines later. For the moment I treat them merely as evidence that Tyrtaeus is aware of the Homeric poems, or at least of one passage of those poems; and I shall assume that not only Tyrtaeus but some of his audience realized that the lines were related to a particular passage of Homer.

Once again, I take it for granted that most of the words in this poem can be found in the Homeric poems. I shall comment only on Homeric phrases and formulae and on un-Homeric words.

In the first couplet, *τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλόν* is an un-Homeric sentiment, as striking as Callinus 1.6.⁷² *ἐν προμάχοισι πεσόντα* is nearly, but not quite, an Homeric expression; and the difference may be significant. In *Iliad* 15.522 we find

*οὐ γὰρ Ἀπόλλων
εἷα Πάνθου υἱὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι δαμῆναι.*

The quotation incidentally shows a difference between Callinus and Tyrtaeus and the Homeric poems: though the general help of the gods is hoped for, and for similar motives to those found in Homer,⁷³ there seems to be no question of any god personally intervening to save an individual. But there is also a significant difference of connotation

⁷¹ *Iliad* 22.71 ff. For possible scepticism, see n.29, above.

⁷² On this, see Snell 1969 (above, n.65) 22, and his *The Discovery of the Mind*, tr. T. G. Rosenmeyer (Oxford 1953), hereafter referred to as Snell 1953, 171-174. See also below, pp. 95 ff.

⁷³ See my "Homeric Gods and the Values of Greek Society," *JHS* 92 (1972) 1-19, esp. 17 f.

between *δαμῆναι* and *πεσεῖν*. *δαμῆναι* brings the victor into the picture, and expresses the inferiority of the vanquished: *πεσεῖν* expresses the fall of the dead man simply as an event. *δαμέντα* would ill suit *καλόν*. But perhaps we may go further. *ἐν δ' ἔπεσον προμάχοις* occurs once in the Homeric poems, in *Odyssey* 24.526: *ἐν δ' ἔπεσον προμάχοις Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ φαίδιμος υἱός*. There the phrase means "fell upon the foremost fighters (among the foe)"; and in *Iliad* 16.81 *ἐμπίπτειν* is used of attacking, with a personal subject.

Now I do not assert that Tyrtaeus' phrase simply means "to die having attacked the enemy." It evidently does not in the similar line 30; and it may be held that *ἐν δ' ἔπεσον προμάχοις* can mean what *ἐν προμάχοις ἔπεσον* could not, though this would be difficult to demonstrate. I suggest no more than that *πεσόντα* may not merely lack the pejorative connotations of *δαμέντα* (which is of course metrically suitable), but have desirable areas of association which "fall amid the vanguard" fails to convey.⁷⁴

Line 2 consists of common Homeric words expressing an abiding situation in the *Iliad*. The Trojans are fighting for their *πατρίς*: yet Tyrtaeus does not use an Homeric formula.⁷⁵

Lines 3–9 furnish a number of occasions on which Tyrtaeus may be using Homer purposively. At the least, they may indicate the manner in which Tyrtaeus' creative imagination and/or memory function.

πτωχεύειν (4) is an Homeric word. It occurs five times, all in the *Odyssey*.⁷⁶ In *Odyssey* 17, in a passage important for the development of the plot and instinct with dramatic irony, Telemachus tells Eumaeus to bring the "beggar" along so that he may beg his bread in the *polis*. To which the disguised Odysseus replies, 18 f,

*πτωχῷ βέλτερόν ἐστι κατὰ πόλιν ἢ κατ' ἀγροῦς
δαῖτα πτωχεύειν· δώσει δέ μοι ὅς κ' ἐθέλησιν.*

The syntactical links between the words are quite different; but here, as in Tyrtaeus, *πτωχεύειν* is accompanied by *πόλιν* and *ἀγρούς*. Pure chance? Possibly; but 8 contains not only the un-Homeric *χρησιμοσύνη*, a word of a form unusual in Homer but now beginning to be more

⁷⁴ Verdenius (above, n.29) 338 notes the Homeric usage, but merely comments, "Tyrtaeus uses Homeric phrases in a new sense." The phrase also occurs in Tyrtaeus 12.23, where the additional overtone would again be relevant. It later (Prato [above, n.57] 88) became formulaic in funerary epigram.

⁷⁵ He is not however averse from using formulae, any more than is Callinus: for example, *πίονας ἀγρούς* (3), *μητρὶ φίλῃ* (5), *πατρὶ γέροντι* (5), *κουριδίῃ τ' ἀλόχῳ* (6).

⁷⁶ *Odyssey* 15.309; 17.11; 17.19; 18.2; 19.73.

productive,⁷⁷ but also *πενίη*, which occurs only once in Homer, *Odyssey* 14.156 f. The disguised Odysseus assures Eumaeus that he is speaking the truth, adding

ἐχθρός γάρ μοι κείνος ὁμῶς Αἶδαο πύλῃσι
γίνεται, ὃς πενίη ἐῖκων ἀπατήλια βάζει.

On the only occasion on which *πενίη* appears in Homer, *ἐχθρός*, as in Tyrtaeus, begins the previous line. Pure chance? Possibly; but since the efficient cause of any poem is a mind functioning at both conscious and subconscious levels, more than a certain number of "chances" should perhaps lead us to wonder whether something more purposive than chance is at work.

Any poet may echo the work of a predecessor; and he may do so consciously or unconsciously. In the ancient world, conscious imitation, even to the extent of borrowing whole lines, was much more common, and approved, than in more recent literature. In this poem Tyrtaeus has included an extended imitation of Homeric lines; and this must be conscious. At the other end of the scale, a phrase or a whole passage of a predecessor may be so stored in the memory of a poet as to affect the composition of what the poet himself supposes to be an entirely original phrase or passage; and we should not forget that the oral bards, at a date not remote from Tyrtaeus, seem to have created "new" formulae and forms of expression in a not dissimilar manner.

I would suggest that we have here evidence of at least some such associative process occurring in Tyrtaeus' mind, a mind stocked with Homeric material, at the subconscious level. It may be rash to suggest anything more consciously purposive; but in each case the Homeric context would enrich Tyrtaeus' verse by its associations.

If a member of Tyrtaeus' audience remembered the former Homeric passage, he would be reminded of the settled society in which the occasional beggar, an unusual phenomenon, finds it more to his advantage to beg in the city than in the country; this would heighten the contrast with the situation which Tyrtaeus envisages, in which the entire settled society collapses, city and fields alike are lost, and all become beggars.⁷⁸ The second passage adds to Tyrtaeus' statement that the

⁷⁷ See C. D. Buck and W. Peterson, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives* (Chicago 1945) 289; and U. Wyss, *Die Wörter auf -σύνη in ihrer historischen Entwicklung*, (Diss. Zürich) Aarau 1954.

⁷⁸ I take it that 3-6 describe the result of a military disaster, not a voluntary departure from the city by a *νέος* who would go to such lengths to avoid military service. So Verdenius (above, n.29) 339, against Prato (above, n.57).

beggar is ἐχθρός to all among whom he comes (or whom he supplicates) merely qua beggar the reflection that anyone in such a position may be ἐχθρός also in virtue of the deceitful expedients which he is compelled to use in order to survive.

I shall not cite possible similar uses of Homer from Tyrtaeus 11 and 12, since I propose to discuss these poems, and other early poetry, elsewhere. In Tyrtaeus 5.5 ff, however, we have

νωλεμέως αἰεὶ ταλασίφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντες
αἰχμηταὶ πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες·
εἰκοστῷ δ' οἱ μὲν κατὰ πτόνα ἔργα λιπόντες
φεύγον Ἰθωμαίων ἐκ μεγάλων ὀρέων.

νωλεμέως is very common in Homer in the sense of "steadfastly," "relentlessly." ταλασίφρων (the phrase ταλασίφρονα θυμόν is new) is less common, occurring twice in the *Iliad*, eleven times in the *Odyssey*. One example (*Iliad* 4.421) has general reference: the other twelve, including the other *Iliad* passage, all refer to Odysseus, who likewise endured many hardships and triumphed in the twentieth year. An alert audience could interpret Tyrtaeus as saying allusively, "Our grandfathers suffered hardships like Odysseus for as long as did Odysseus, but triumphed at last like Odysseus because they had a spirit like Odysseus." I cannot believe that this is yet another "pure chance."

In 9-10, γένος αἰσχύνειν is a Homeric phrase which expresses a key Homeric idea.⁷⁹ It occurs only once in Homer,⁸⁰ in Glaucus' speech to Diomedes, *Iliad* 6.206 ff:

"Ἰππόλοχος δέ μ' ἔτικτε, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φημι γενέσθαι·
πέμπε δέ μ' ἐς Τροίην καὶ μοι μάλα πόλλ' ἐπέτελλεν
αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων,
μηδὲ γένος πατέρων αἰσχυνέμεν, οἳ μέγ' ἄριστοι
ἔν τ' Ἐφύρῃ ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐν Λυκίῃ εὐρείῃ."

The phrase γένος αἰσχύνειν is in itself as emotionally loaded as any in early Greek. By itself it should have elicited a vigorous response from Tyrtaeus' audience; and the phrase could not fail to evoke a general picture of admired, and abhorred, Homeric behavior. But the more surely Tyrtaeus can evoke these particular lines — and they occur in one

⁷⁹ For αἰσχρόν and αἰσχύνειν in general, see my *Merit and Responsibility: A Study in Greek Values* (Oxford 1960) chs. 3, 8, etc. (hereafter referred to as *MR*).

⁸⁰ γένος κατασχύνειν occurs twice, *Odyssey* 24.508, 512. To evoke a memory of these lines would also be to Tyrtaeus' advantage: Telemachus is preparing to fight bravely for the οἶκος of Odysseus.

of the best known speeches of the *Iliad*, next to one of its best known lines⁸¹ — the more surely he links his poem with the sentiments and eloquence of a poetic tradition richer, greater, finer, and more hallowed by time, and so incomparably more effective poetically and rhetorically than his own rather halting couplets could hope to be.

A modern instance of allusion may make my point clearer. Fitzgerald's translation of *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*, first published in 1859,⁸² achieved a remarkable immediate and sustained popularity; so that in 1890 it was possible for Rudyard Kipling to write

Now the New Year reviving old desires,
The restless soul to open sea aspires,
Where the Blue Peter flickers from the fore
And the grimed stoker feeds the engine fires

and be confident that his — large, popular⁸³ — readership would recall Fitzgerald's⁸⁴

Now the New Year reviving old desires,
The thoughtful soul to solitude aspires,
Where the White Hand of Moses on the Bough
Puts forth, and Jesus from the ground suspires.

Kipling did not write his poem⁸⁵ in this form because he could think of no other way to write it;⁸⁶ nor is it simply parody, plagiarism, or that

⁸¹ I.e., 6.208 (also at *Iliad* 11.783). From the beginning of the speech (146) Simonides (possibly Semonides, in Bergk's view [above, n.14]; but West [above, n.1] takes the poem to be at least of Simonidean date) quotes οἷη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοιῇ δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν (8.2); and though Mimnermus uses the idea differently, 2.1 may be suggested by the Homeric passage.

⁸² *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*, tr. Edward Fitzgerald, 1st ed. (London, 1859).

⁸³ And hence a more suitable parallel, since Homer was widely known, than the allusions in (say) Joyce, Eliot, or Pound, most of which require a more learned readership.

⁸⁴ Rubaiyat 4.

⁸⁵ *The Exiles' Line*, to be found in *The Definitive Edition of Rudyard Kipling's Verse* (London 1940) 163. Kipling had already imitated the same stanza in *The Rubaiyat of Omar Kal'vin*, *ibid.*, p. 25.

⁸⁶ In this respect he differs from Tyrtaeus, of whom Wilamowitz, *Die Ilias und Homer* (2nd ed. Berlin 1920) 96, observes "Der alte Tyrtaios ist eben kein wirklicher Poet, sondern bedient sich des epischen Stiles, weil es noch keinen andern gibt, für seine wirksamen und darum ansprechenden Ermahnungen." "Using epic style (or language)," however, is susceptible of more than one interpretation; and I would dissent from Wilamowitz's value judgment. There is more than one way of being a "wirklicher Poet." (For a higher estimate of Tyrtaeus than that of Wilamowitz, see Verdenius [above, n.29] 339 f).

form of imitation which is said to be the sincerest form of flattery. Read as a whole, the poem contrasts the busy life of the servants of Queen Victoria's Raj with the meditative hedonism of Khayyam; but read as a whole, the echoes and close imitations, which are sustained throughout, also contrive to endow the busy life described with the romantic, sentimental, fatalistic overtones of the earlier poem, in a manner otherwise impossible to achieve so economically.

Decades later, Ogden Nash was confident that his numerous readers still read Fitzgerald's Omar Khayyam; possibly even more confident than was Kipling, since he is more allusive:⁸⁷

The lion and the lizard
No heavenly harmonies hear
From the high fidelity speaker
Concealed behind the Vermeer.

Here the brief allusion (and the mention of Jamshid in the first line of the next stanza) enables the urbane, witty Mr. Nash to evoke in his readers' mind overtones of Khayyam, or Fitzgerald's version of Khayyam, juxtaposing the spare with the full-blown, the dry with the lush, the contemporary with the remote. The Nash poem, like the verses alluded to, is concerned with decay, transience, and disaster; and the allusion in effect economically suggests to the reader two very different emotional responses to the situation, and produces that density and complexity of communication which is one poetic goal.

I cite the examples merely as a general indication of the manner in which allusion may work. Reinforcement and intensification, not complexity or contrast, is 'Tyrtaeus' goal here;⁸⁸ but the means used are essentially the same.

To return to Tyrtaeus' poem. In 9, εἶδος ἐλέγχει is not an Homeric phrase, but echoes a striking twice-used line of the *Iliad* (5.787, 8.228);

αἰδώς, Ἀργεῖοι, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα, εἶδος ἀγητοί.

In 5.787, the Greeks are rebuked for their lack of success now that Achilles has left the fighting. In 8.228 the next line is

πῇ ἔβαν εὐχολαί, ὅτε δὴ φάμεν εἶναι ἄριστοι;

which once again would reinforce Tyrtaeus' own point. But since this is

⁸⁷ *Exit, Pursued by a Bear*, stanza 5. The poem may be found in *The Pocket Book of Ogden Nash* (New York 1962) 189 f. For Jamshid, the lion and the lizard, see Rubaiyat 18.

⁸⁸ His purpose is more complex at the end of the poem. See below, pp. 92 f.

the *type* of line likely to accompany 8.228, it may be more cautious to suggest that the Tyrtaean line is enriched, if the audience remembers 8.228, by that powerful line in particular and also by the general connotations of the values of Homeric warriors. So to judge the line also directs attention to Tyrtaeus' own achievement here: *εἶδος ἐλέγχει* is not an Homeric phrase, and it is a fine phrase: we should not underestimate his powers as a coiner of new words and phrases.

ἀτιμίη occurs only once in Homer (*Odyssey* 13.142), but there is no echo; and *κακότης* is too common in Homer to evoke remembrance of any particular line.

There are no discernible Homeric echoes in 11-12; and *ᾠρη* indeed is not an Homeric word.

All the words in 13-14 are Homeric, but *ψυχέων φείδεσθαι* is a new phrase.⁸⁹ It is not, however, an extension of the Homeric use of *ψυχή*. It is an oversimplification to say of the Homeric *ψυχή* that it exists only after death. For example, in *Iliad* 9.322, Achilles speaks of

αἰεὶ ἐμὴν ψυχὴν παραβαλλόμενος πολεμίζειν.

If one stakes one's *ψυχή* one may possibly lose it; and to spare it is to try to avoid losing it. The Homeric Greek is aware while alive that he has a *ψυχή*. *ψυχέων φείδεσθαι* is, however, possibly a phrase of Tyrtaeus' own, and a striking one.

Lines 15-16 consist exclusively of Homeric words. *παρ' ἀλλήλοισι μένειν* is an Homeric phrase, used in *Iliad* 5.572, when Antilochus joins Menelaus,

*Αἰνείας δ' οὐ μείνει, θεός περ ἐὼν πολεμίστης,
ὥς εἶδεν δύο φῶτε παρ' ἀλλήλοισι μένοντε.*

I do not argue that there is allusion to this passage or to any of the passages in which the phrase occurs, in particular. The phrase denotes a mode of fighting, or awaiting combat, more grim, dour, and static than much of that demanded of the Homeric hero, for whom combats with another hero in which he has free room to maneuver, or the pursuit and slaughter of numerous lesser fighters, are more characteristic. The phrase has a more important role in Tyrtaeus, who is addressing warriors who are characteristically to fight in at least a rudimentary hoplite phalanx, it would seem.⁹⁰ Tyrtaeus accordingly in poem 11 not merely repeats

⁸⁹ On this couplet see Snell 1969 (above, n.65) 13, 15, 23, 24 n.2; and on *ψυχέων*, Verdenius (above, n.29) 345, Prato (above, n.57) 92.

⁹⁰ See above, n.61.

this Homeric phrase but also (31 ff) composes an extended cadenza on another Homeric line, which I intend to discuss elsewhere. In this case Tyrtaeus might gain something from the Homeric connotations of his phrase; but in fact he needs to give it greater intensity than does Homer.

In 17–18, ἄλκιμος θυμός is not an Homeric phrase. It occurred in Callinus 1.1; and here it is again.⁹¹ μέγας θυμός is a common Homeric phrase (whence μεγάρθυμος). A μέγας θυμός has power, vigor, energy, qualities to which one may have a different attitude in one's friends and in one's enemies: *Iliad* 9.496 would be an inappropriate line to remember here, but the phrase would be unlikely to evoke memories of particular lines.

In 18, φιλοψυχεῖτε is not Homeric. It is a vivid word, and may well have been coined by Tyrtaeus. ἀνδράσι μαρνάμενοι, I have said, reads at first sight like a “filler,” or, if we emphasize the “warrior” connotation of ἀνδράσι, seems to lay more emphasis on the qualities of the enemy than on those of the Spartans. Tyrtaeus cannot intend “Do not be afraid to die, for your foes are great warriors.” This is hardly the best mode of exhortation available. But the phrase ἀνδράσι μαρνάμενος occurs only once in Homer; and it occurs at a famous speech at an important moment in the *Iliad* (9.327), when Achilles recalls how he

ἦματ' αἰματόεντα διέπρησσαν πολεμίζων
ἀνδράσι μαρνάμενος.

If the audience remembered that Achilles used the phrase of his own mighty deeds, the emotive effect of the phrase would be quite different: it then associates the Spartans with Achilles, who fought with mighty warriors — successfully, for he was himself mightier. In this light, the phrase appears neither bathetic nor inappropriate.

Lines 19–22 contain no significant Homeric echoes; but 23–27, as already said, are an extended Homeric allusion: to *Iliad* 22.71 ff. Priam is trying to persuade Hector to withdraw into Troy and not meet Achilles in single combat:

⁹¹ Campbell (above, n.25) 162 lists some pentameter endings which occur in more than one elegiac poet, but are not found in Homer. This raises the question of the circulation of elegiac poetry, and the extent to which the poets were aware of one another's work. Sometimes, as in Solon 20, where Solon is commenting directly on Mimnermus 6.2, there can be no doubt; and Solon 13.71 ff and Theognis 227 ff are evidently linked. See my comments in *Moral Values and Political Behaviour in Ancient Greece* (London 1972) 52 f (hereafter referred to as *MV*). The general question is too large to discuss here. (On the phrase ἄλκιμος θυμός, see also Snell 1969 [above, n.65] 9, 12, and Verdenius [above, n.29] 348.)

νέω δέ τε πάντ' ἐπέοικεν
 ἄρηκταμένω, δεδαῖγμένω ὅξεί' χαλκῶ,
 κεῖσθαι πάντα δὲ καλὰ θανόντι περ, ὅττι φανήη.
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ πολίον τε κάρη πολίον τε γένειον
 αἰδῶ τ' αἰσχύνωσι κύνες κταμένοιο γέροντος,
 τοῦτο δὴ οἴκτιστον πέλεται δειλοῖσι βρότοισιν.

That Tyrtaeus' lines are a reminiscence of this passage there can be no doubt.⁹² Tyrtaeus has rendered his description more vivid in some respects; and he has replaced Homer's οἴκτιστον, "pitiable," an attitude of the observer, with αἰσχρόν and νεμεσητόν, "shameful" and "worthy to cause indignation," words which should spur the young warriors to action. The resulting lines, though structurally inferior, contain emotively powerful words and phrases; but we may ask once again whether Tyrtaeus is employing Homer merely as a quarry for materials (which he here adapts somewhat to his own purposes) or is using Homeric allusion to enrich his own effects. Does it matter that Priam utters these lines? That he utters them to Hector? That he utters them in a particular situation; and imagines another situation?

Priam is the archetypal old man of sorrows in Greek literature.⁹³ To evoke thoughts of Priam would emotionally color the situation of the Spartan γέροντες in a manner difficult — impossible, for a poet of Tyrtaeus' own verbal accomplishments — to achieve otherwise. Priam utters his words to Hector, Troy's mightiest warrior, who dies because he fights alone, in a manner demanded of him by the hero standard of Homer, a standard which is in Tyrtaeus' eyes now inappropriate.⁹⁴ Priam wants Hector (22.37 f) not to fight alone but with other warriors, so that Troy may be saved (56 f). Priam utters the words at the final moment of crisis for Troy: he believes, at all events — and we as readers know that he is correct — that if Hector falls Troy is doomed. Tyrtaeus is trying to convince the young warriors that Sparta is at a moment of supreme crisis. Thus far, the effect is one of emotional

⁹² With the proviso expressed in n.29, above. On this Tyrtaean passage see Christopher M. Dawson, 'Random Thoughts on Occasional Poems,' *Y Cl S* 19 (1966) 50 ff. My sympathy with Dawson's general approach, as well as his remarks on this passage, will be apparent throughout. I differ from him in regarding purposive allusion as a more widespread phenomenon in Tyrtaeus (and, as I shall show later, in other early elegiac and lyric poets).

⁹³ He is taken as an example, e.g., by Aristotle, *EN* 1100a5 ff, 1101a8.

⁹⁴ See the Priamel, 12.1 ff, and my comments, *MR* (above, n.79) 73, *MV* (above, n.91) 35 ff.

reinforcement. But there is also rebuke. Priam is describing the fate of the old men when a city is sacked. Tyrtaeus uses the lines to describe what will happen now, on the battlefield, if the young men fail to fight bravely; the old men will undergo, while their city is yet surviving, what one would expect to happen only after the fall of one's *polis*, the ultimate disaster of Greek life. Finally, Priam is a noncombatant exhorting a warrior; but the failings of the young men of Sparta will leave the old men in the forefront of the battle, where — as the memory of Priam should remind the young men — old men should not have to fight. If the allusion is taken, Tyrtaeus is using the Homeric lines to convey a pathos and a rebuke much more powerful than the words themselves, powerful as these are, would at first sight suggest.

In 29–30, *θηητός* is not Homeric, and *ἐρατός* is not used of persons in Homer; but the choice and positioning of *ζωὸς ἐών* may be intended to evoke significant Homeric echoes. *ζωὸς ἐών* occurs eight times, six times at the beginning of the line, followed by a pause. Two of these are either not memorable (*Iliad* 2.699) or not relevant (*Odyssey* 11.155); but of the other four, one occurs in the lamentation of Glaucus for Sarpedon, which is coupled with a reproach to Hector for not saving the body (*Iliad* 17.152) of him *ὅς τοι πόλλ' ὄφελος γένετο, πτόλεϊ τε καὶ ἀντῷ*, *ζωὸς ἐών*; two refer to the characteristics of Patroclus (*Iliad* 17.478 f, 670 f) in the immediate context of regret for his death; and one refers to Hector, in Hecuba's lament for him, during which she dwells longingly on his excellences and fame in life (*Iliad* 22.436). Sarpedon, Patroclus, and Hector are three of the greatest — and most lamented — heroes in the *Iliad*; and *ζωὸς ἐών* occurs repeatedly in passages which emphasize both greatness in life and lamentation after death. Reference is not to one particular passage, and indeed the whole line *ζωὸς ἐών· νῦν αὖ θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κιχάνει* is a formula occurring in three of these passages. But a general recollection of the lamentation for Homeric warriors in the context of their remembered greatness, evoked by the phrase *ζωὸς ἐών*, would enrich Tyrtaeus' poem by adding to the admiration and love felt for the warrior — once again by implication equated in stature with the Homeric warrior — in life, and his being *καλός* in his heroic death, overtones of the lamentation that will succeed it. (If one remembered *Iliad* 17.152 in particular, once again a tone of rebuke would also be implied; but the number of passages renders this less likely.) Furthermore, recollection of Homer's lines would prevent the audience from interpreting *ζωὸς ἐών* as "while he is alive, at all events," which is, as I said above, otherwise a possible interpretation suggested by position and pause.

Once again, pure chance? Surely beyond a certain point chance becomes the less plausible explanation.

In 31–32, the phrase εὖ διαβάς occurs only once in Homer; and the verb itself is uncommon in the poems.⁹⁵ The phrase is found at *Iliad* 12.458, when Hector is engaged in breaking down the Greek wall, one of his mightiest feats. To remember the superhuman deed there described would strengthen the couplet; but the couplet is an excellent composition in its own right; and in the remainder of it Tyrtaeus seems not to be trying to evoke associations from Homer. στήριζειν too is uncommon in Homer. It occurs only twice, both times (as in Tyrtaeus) with the dative plural of πούς. In both cases a hero is unable to maintain a firm footing, Achilles being swept away by the river (*Iliad* 21.242), Odysseus clinging to the fig tree to save himself from Scylla and Charybdis. The mighty effort is in point; the failure is not, and remembrance of the context in these cases would not enhance Tyrtaeus' effect. Furthermore, χεῖλος ὁδοῦσι δακῶν is a phrase apparently coined by Tyrtaeus from a Homeric suggestion but in a new sense of the words used.⁹⁶ A formulaic couplet

ὥς ἔφαθ'· οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ὁδᾶξ ἐν χεῖλεσι φύντες
Τηλέμαχον θαύμαζον, ὃ θαρσαλέως ἀγόρευε.

is used three times in the *Odyssey* of the suitors (1.381, 18.410, 20.268). The formula seems to express surprise and the suppression of a reply, apparently from fear. Tyrtaeus wishes the young warriors not merely to keep silent but to bite the bullet and keep a stiff upper lip. Here we have a striking new and vivid phrase, presumably Tyrtaeus' own; and this may suggest that Tyrtaeus, making due allowance for the constraints of Homeric language and of his own talents, was in this couplet trying to be original. That the couplet also occurs in Tyrtaeus 11.21–22 renders it necessary neither to conclude that the lines are unoriginal nor that they are an interpolation in one of the poems: a poet who draws freely from Homer might surely quote from himself, particularly if he were especially pleased with the lines concerned. The couplet is a good one; the poems were doubtless first performed on different occasions; and Tyrtaeus is concerned with practical results, not with the approbation of future literary critics reared in a different cultural environment.

Before summing up, I wish to discuss one other, evidently conscious, rhetorical effect in the poem: the use of the full range of the value terms

⁹⁵ It occurs twice in the *Iliad* (12.50; 12.458), once in the *Odyssey* (4.635) and twice in the *Hymn to Apollo* (222, 242). On the couplet see Snell (above, n.65) 19 f.

⁹⁶ See also Prato (above, n.57) ad loc.

employed. Tyrtaeus begins with the proposition that it is *καλόν* to die for one's country. We are accustomed to such sentiments: they may not be so widely acceptable as was once the case, but they are unlikely to impress the reader as novel. In Tyrtaeus the sentiment is novel, and implausible. It may be a *ξυνόν ἐσθλόν* (12.15) to fight and die if need be for one's *polis*; it is certainly *αἰσχρόν* to run away; but that it is *καλόν* to die in battle has not been said previously in extant Greek.⁹⁷

Tyrtaeus must strengthen his case, and does so with great rhetorical and poetical skill, making use of the full connotation of *καλόν*, which spans both "beautiful" and "honorable." On its first occurrence in the poem, *τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλόν*, whether for one's *polis* or not, is unlikely to appear plausible in terms of any aspect of the range of *καλόν*; and the contrast of *καλόν* with *ἀνιηρότατον* (4), which is not the contrary of *καλόν*, does not bring "beautiful" into the mind for *καλόν*, though it may cause the hearer retrospectively to endow the first couplet with the notion of pleasantness.⁹⁸ Line 9, *αἰσχύνει τε γένος, κατὰ δ' ἄγλαόν εἶδος ἐλέγχει*, formally separates the notions of *αἰσχύνειν* and beauty, *ἄγλαόν εἶδος*, but the juxtaposition may evoke visual overtones in *αἰσχύνειν* nevertheless. There is — or should be — no difficulty in inducing the young warrior to grant that flight is *αἰσχρόν*, for this is a basic tenet of the warrior's code from Homer onwards.⁹⁹ *αἰσχύνειν*, and *φυγῆς αἰσχροῦς* (16), do not require argument from Tyrtaeus. It is when he addresses himself to proving the proposition of the first couplet that he brings all his resources into play. With *αἰσχρόν γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο* (21) Tyrtaeus begins to *emphasize* the visual aspect of fighting and dying, and in 26 writes *αἰσχρὰ τὰ γ' ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ νεμεσητὸν ἰδεῖν*. This is a quite densely packed phrase. If we analyze *αἰσχρόν* into its nonvisual and visual aspects to facilitate the explanation, it can convey both "these things are (nonvisually) *αἰσχρόν*, i.e., shameful, for the eyes to look upon (and do nothing about it)" and "these things are (visually) *αἰσχρόν*, i.e., ugly, for the eyes to look upon."¹⁰⁰ The effectiveness of the phrase as Greek poetry and rhetoric of course depends on the hearer receiving this complex message in an unanalyzed form. Tyrtaeus then

⁹⁷ See Snell 1953 (above, n. 72) 171–174, and *MR* (above, n.79) 163–164, for the manner in which Tyrtaeus employs the visual usage of *καλόν* and *αἰσχρόν* to reinforce the ethical usage. See also Prato (above, n.57) ad loc.

⁹⁸ Is this the reason why Horace (*Odes* 3.2.13) wrote "*dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*"? (I shall discuss this point more fully elsewhere.)

⁹⁹ See *MR* (above, n.79) passim.

¹⁰⁰ Prato (above, n.57) 98 disagrees; but does not fully observe Tyrtaeus' rhetorical usage of the terms in the poem.

proceeds to the young men, his hand strengthened by the doubtless general agreement that the corpse of an old man killed in battle is *αἰσχρόν* in both the senses I have distinguished. He ends 27 with his direct Homeric reference, pays a general compliment to youthful male beauty in 28, and expands this in 29 with a line that emphasizes the visual (*θητὸς ἰδεῖν*); so that when he reaches 30, *καλὸς δ' ἐν προμάχοισιν πεσών*, he clearly hopes that the young men's pride in their manly beauty will make them willing, if need be, for the supreme sacrifice. This is a rhetorical trick, since there is no reason to suppose that a youthful warrior when dead is significantly more attractive to behold than is an old one, but it is a skillful rhetorical trick; and I have already argued that the lines contain also a very effective use of literary allusion. *καλός* is nearly always used of visual beauty, *καλόν ἐστι* with an infinitive of nonvisual judgments; but 30 is evidently intended to echo 1, and constitutes the conclusion of, if not quite an argument, the movement of Tyrtaeus' thought. This is so elegant that it would be pleasant to suppose 1 to be really the first line of the poem, even though in other respects the opening lines are unsatisfactory. Having reached the end of the movement of thought, the poet adds the remaining couplet, a short and powerful exhortation to put into practice the conduct for which he has been arguing.

These two poems display two poets working in distinctly different ways, displaying distinctly different aptitudes. If the one extant poem of Callinus is at all characteristic, we have lost a fine elegiac poet. On the other hand, poets develop; and I shall argue elsewhere that not all of Tyrtaeus' capabilities are adequately displayed in 10. In these two poems, however, Callinus shows himself a fluent composer in elegiac paragraphs, a master in the art of organizing sentences in a meter which has a double movement, and a creative user of the resources offered by his language. By comparison, Tyrtaeus' elegiacs are halting, awkward; his rhetoric is fitted with difficulty into the elegiac couplet, suggesting that, had elegant prose been available, prose would have served his purpose better. On the other hand, he too can produce occasional striking new words and phrases; and his exploitation of the potentialities, poetical and rhetorical, of *καλόν* and *αἰσχρόν* is as creative and effective as Callinus' use of *τιμῆν* and *ἀγλαόν*. Finally, an artist, to succeed, needs to make the best use of his own talents, whatever these may be, and also of the material with which he has to work; and Tyrtaeus' use of Homeric allusion to give poetic, rhetorical, and emotional supplementation to his own limited poetic resources shows a remarkable realization

of the possibilities residing in an unusual cultural situation. (If Callinus also habitually made use of such possibilities — and 20–21 perhaps permit us to claim that he was aware of them — his poetical armory was indeed of the finest.)

That we have here two very different poems on a similar theme is certain; that the work of the two poets taken as a whole was very different is a reasonable inference. But in their different ways both poems might well be expected to achieve the immediate practical result that their authors desired¹⁰¹ and that, in their own day, was the justification of their elegiacs.

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¹⁰¹ On the effects of Tyrtaeus' poems, see Lycurgus *In Leocr.* 107 (the context in which Tyrtaeus 10 is preserved).

THE ORESTEIA AND CIMON

JOHN R. COLE

AESCHYLUS' "masterpiece of masterpieces" concludes in the *Eumenides* with passages more or less clearly relating to the recently reformed Areopagus and to the recently negotiated alliance with Argos. But the most painstaking studies of such particular passages as Athene's foundation speech or Orestes' farewell address have not led to any consensus on the poet's politics. On the contrary, they have left us with an Aeschylus variously placed on a political spectrum from left through center to right, from radicalism through moderatism to conservatism, and with an oddly bifurcated trilogy, in which the first two plays and most of the third are thought not to deal with politics at all, while the third concludes politically. In an attempt to resolve these difficulties, I propose to set aside the intensive study of particular passages most clearly relating to politics for an extensive study of the general historical context and of the trilogy as a whole in this context. I shall argue that the *Oresteia* was conceived to bring the poet's wisdom to bear on the political crises of 458. Aeschylus seems to have advocated the recall of Cimon, militant resistance to the Persians, and factional reconciliation at Athens.

CIMON, AGAMEMNON, AND ORESTES

The first and most important likeness between the historical Cimon and the traditional Agamemnon is that they were both great Greek conquerors of haughty Asian foes. But Cimon's military leadership against the Persians in the decades of the 470s and 460s may not loom as large for us as it must have for his contemporaries because of the weight which Herodotus and Thucydides must bear in any modern reconstruction. Herodotus' narrative stops short of the campaigns of Cimon, which drove the Persians from the Aegean and, after the battles of the Eurymedon, seemed to assure that there would be no new invasion, as had been launched in 490 and 480. The limitations of Thucydides' narrative for the decades between the Persian Wars and the Peloponnesian War are recognized by his most careful and sympathetic

students. For the purposes of this paper, the greatest of these limitations are the general unconcern with individuals other than Themistocles and Pausanias and the exclusive preoccupation with the growth of Athenian power as it relates to the Peloponnesian War of Thucydides' maturity. Herodotus and Thucydides taken together have left us with a periodization in which the Persian Wars culminate in Plataea, while the Peloponnesian War preoccupies us thereafter.¹

Agamemnon viewed from the perspective of 458 and continuing Persian war would seem most simply to represent the greatest traditional conqueror of the Asian enemy. Agamemnon's personal battle-prowess is subordinated to that of other heroes, but he remains "armored in shining bronze, glorying, conspicuous among the great fighters, since he was greatest among them all and led the most people." The victory over Troy, that historical analogue for victory over Persia, is Agamemnon's victory as commander of Achilles, Aias, and the others. In the *Oresteia*, the sacker of Troy may have his faults, but reluctance to engage or incapacity to succeed in battle is not among them. And, despite these faults, the Chorus clearly supports Agamemnon, once home, while such secondary characters as Cassandra or even the Watchman or Herald prepare us to favor the conqueror-homecomer.²

The second likeness between the historical Cimon and the traditional Agamemnon is that they were both great conquerors who returned home from their wars, only to be attacked and overturned there. In Cimon's case, after the long but victorious siege of Thasos, he had returned to face prosecution in court. Cimon was even more effectively attacked when he returned "dismissed" from Sparta, having led Athenian hoplites in an abortive mission of support for the erstwhile

¹ References to the sources and to particular scholarship may be found in D. Kagan, *The Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War* (Ithaca 1969); R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford 1972); and G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War* (Ithaca 1972). The very titles suggest the extent to which the history of the Pentecontaetia has been dominated by Thucydidean perspectives. Also symptomatic is A. R. Burn, *Persia and the Greeks: The Defense of the West 546-478 B.C.* (London 1962). Persia continued as a threat after 478.

² Agamemnon's character has generally been criticized for prior murder and presented trampling. See H. Lloyd-Jones, "The Guilt of Agamemnon," *CQ* 12 (1962) 187-199; A. Lesky, "Decision and Responsibility in the Tragedy of Aeschylus," *JHS* 86 (1966) 80-83. E. Fraenkel has been most sympathetic if not most persuasive in his edition of the *Agamemnon* (Oxford 1950) II 119, 293-294, 371-374, 425, 441-442. D. Page is more typical in his attribution of "sin" and "crime"; see his introduction to the Denniston-Page *Agamemnon* (Oxford 1957) xxiii, xxxiii.

ally. However inhospitable his Spartan friends were reported to have been, the reception home was more painful, as he was ostracized in 461.³ The story of Agamemnon that Aeschylus chose to dramatize is roughly comparable. The poet tells not of the great victory over Troy but of the great catastrophe on the victor's return home. The parallel with Cimon is inexact, but it is suggestive. The playwright seeking a traditional hero whose story might provide material for the tragic instruction of his city with regard to Cimon could have found none better than Agamemnon.

A third significant likeness supports the interpretation that Aeschylus may in fact have sought such material for the goal of political instruction. This is that the historical attack on Cimon was apparently as deeply rooted in a history of family feuding as the traditional attack on Agamemnon. The enmity of Philaids and Alcmaeonids helps to explain the enmity of Cimon and Pericles. Although our genealogical and political information is nowhere near complete enough or reliable enough to permit certain conclusions, the evidence we do have seems to fit patterns of family vengeance through generations. Two generations before the *Oresteia*, the possible Philaid Isagoras was opposed by the Alcmaeonid Cleisthenes. Herodotus gives Tisander as Isagoras' father, a name prominent in securely Philaid lines that are then obscured before this generation. His account makes the great Cleisthenean lawgiving an episode in the course of rivalry with Isagoras, followed in turn by prosecution and exile of the accursed Alcmaeonid, then by his return to place Isagoras in the prison in which he died.⁴ One generation before the *Oresteia*, the Philaid Miltiades won with Aeschylus at Marathon, despite traditions of the shield signal and Alcmaeonid connivance with the Persians. A year later, Miltiades was successfully prosecuted by the Alcmaeonid in-law Xanthippus, leaving a large fine for Cimon to repay after his hero-father's death. It may have been vengeful justice and repayment of another kind when the Alcmaeonid Megacles and then Xanthippus himself were ostracized in the 480s.⁵ The approach of the

³ Among works on internal politics, I have been helped by C. Hignett, *A History of the Athenian Constitution* (Oxford 1952); J. Day and M. Chambers, *Aristotle's History of Athenian Democracy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1962); W. R. Connor, *The New Politicians of Fifth Century Athens* (Princeton 1971). On 462/1 see J. R. Cole "Cimon's Dismissal, Ephialtes' Revolution, and the Peloponnesian Wars," *GRBS* 15 (1974) 369-385.

⁴ Hdt. 5.66-73; compare 6.127. J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600-300 B.C.* (Oxford 1971) 293 ff on Philaidai; 368 ff on Alcmaeonidai.

⁵ Aristotle's explanations of Megacles' and Xanthippus' ostracisms need not be accepted; *Ath. Pol.* 22.5-6.

Persians occasioned the famous recall of such exiles, and it is most likely that reconciliation at this time was marked by the marriage of Philaid Cimon and Alcmaeonid Isodice. But in the few years before the *Oresteia*, the apparent feud flared again. On his return from the reduction of Thasos, Philaid Cimon was prosecuted by the maternal Alcmaeonid Pericles. Then Cimon and a large force of hoplites went to the assistance of Sparta, permitting Ephialtes and Pericles to attack the Areopagus in their absence. On his early return from Sparta, Cimon failed in apparent attempts to restore "his" order, then failed more decisively in the ostracism of 461, in which we must again presume Ephialtes and Pericles as his enemies. The last act before our first play was Ephialtes' murder, leaving both the ostracized Philaid and the dead man's Alcmaeonid friend presumably ready for further vengeance.⁶

It might seem helpful to the arguments of this paper if some more particularly identifying marks could be found in the first two plays to relate their heroes to Cimon. Both political and personal likenesses may have been intended, and some seem worth suggesting, despite our uncertainty. Cimon in 458 would have been most closely identified with pro-Spartan policies, as evidenced by his son's name, Lacedaemonius, by his proxeny, and by the expeditionary force of 462. Agamemnon and Orestes were decisively Peloponnesian, the former a warrior for the sake of his Spartan brother, the latter a major figure in Spartan propaganda. But such likenesses may be accidental, especially since the poet does not offer Spartan versions of the traditions.⁷ More to the point, Clytaemestra's first speech to Agamemnon refers to fears of popular overthrow of the council in his absence and to the equally popular tendency to trample upon the fallen. The dramatic references may be to the absence of Cimon at Sparta, the leadership of Ephialtes and Pericles in his absence, their democratic overthrow of the Council of the Areopagus, and their successful ostracism of the "dismissed" Cimon on his return.⁸

The three more general likenesses seem to me more important: victory over Asians, reversal on return, and familial feud. But there is at least one most important difference to be faced. Cimon's reversal was

⁶ Ephialtes' murder is crucial for this paper. Our best source is suspiciously oligarchical, but it remains true that no evidence seems to blame Cimon or Cimonians. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 25.4.

⁷ For the Spartan adaptation of Orestes' story see C. M. Bowra, "Stesichorus in the Peloponnese," *CQ* 28 (1934) 117-118; Hdt. 1.68. For Cimon's philolaconism see Plut. *Cim.* 16.

⁸ Aesch. *Ag.* 783 ff. For the disputed chronology of 462/1 see Cole (above, n.3).

ostracism, while Agamemnon's was murder. Far from disproving any Cimonian bearing for the trilogy, this difference seems to me essential for its political comprehension. Cimon, like Orestes, was alive for a new homecoming.

Each of the plays in Aeschylus' *Oresteia* consists of two actions: first, a homecoming; second, a response to prior violation. It is the second action that is most compelling dramatically in each play and most obviously developed in the trilogy as a whole. But the first action has significance as the beginning of each play and as the conclusion of the trilogy. Agamemnon, the warrior, comes home to die. Orestes, the exile, comes home to kill. And then Athene, the goddess, comes home to save — and to send the exile home. Cimon, the warrior, had come home to be attacked and exiled, but he was not killed. He or his partisans, presumably, lived to have the attacker killed. And then Aeschylus, the poet, offered his own saving wisdom — bring the exile home. Such is the interpretation I propose.

Early recall from ostracism was historically attested for Cimon. Plutarch's story of the battle of Tanagra, commonly dated 457 in the fifth year of Cimon's ostracism and the first year after the *Oresteia*, includes a dramatically memorable but historically questionable account of Cimonian participation.⁹ Early recall, the alleged result of this action, is probably historical, even if its date is uncertain and its occasion is not best explained by spectacular and irregular sacrifice. Defeat at Tanagra and the possibility of further Spartan invasions are more plausible motivations. Plutarch asserts that on his early return Cimon did end the war with Sparta by arranging a settlement between the two parties, an assertion that raises strictly historical questions that cannot be debated here. It is enough for an understanding of the *Oresteia* to accept that such a role could well be expected from Cimon and that sources include mentions of both a four-month and a five-year truce before the Fifty-Years' Peace. If Cimon's early return were to be delayed until after the disastrous end of the Egyptian expedition, or even if early return were to be rejected altogether, some explanation for traditions of premature recall would still be necessary. Plutarch asserts that Pericles himself moved the decree recalling Cimon and uses the whole story as a morality play of antique patriotism mutually rising above partisanship. We cannot be certain that it happened, much less that it happened because of Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, if the trilogy was indeed intended as a return plea.¹⁰

⁹ Plut. *Cim.* 17.3–6.

¹⁰ Meiggs (above, n.1) offers a recent discussion of recall notable for brevity and sanity.

RETROSPECTIVE MILITANCY

Retrospective militancy is meant to suggest that these are war plays even as they are Cimon plays. Aeschylus' attempt to recall Cimon makes sense as an attempt to recapture victorious leadership. Insofar as there is divinely inspired grace bringing peace where there had been conflict, the important peace is internal, within the city, not external. The great dramatic weight of Orestes' last words is used to celebrate the Argive alliance,¹¹ which gave Athens a powerful hoplite force on Sparta's flank and sent a thousand hoplites to fight at Tanagra.

There are three other suggestive references to places in martial contexts. The first two come on Orestes' arrival at Athens in the context of the first mention of the Argive alliance.¹² At a time when two hundred Athenian ships were off fighting Persians in Egypt, "somewhere in the Libyan land" was surely a reference to contemporary events in which the seasoned commander might find a role. "The Phlegraeon flat," where Athene may stand "like some bold man of armies," has puzzled even those scholars who accept martial references to Argos and Egypt.¹³ It is true that we know of no warfare in the Chalcidice in 458. But what we do know is even more helpful to the argument of this paper. Thucydides begins his sketch of Athens' interwar growth to fearfully powerful empire with the victory of Cimon over the Persians at Eion. The capture of Eion was some two decades before the *Oresteia*, but the success had symbolic as well as military-political importance. Within the last few years before his ostracism and well within one decade of the *Oresteia*, Cimon seems to have been a leader both in the Thracian colonization at Ennea Hodoi, which involved warfare, and in the reduction of nearby Thasos, besieged after rebellion from the League.¹⁴ Admittedly, Eion, Ennea Hodoi, and Thasos are not Pallene, the "Phlegraeon flat," but all are Thraceward regions, and Aeschylus' practice seems to be to find an approximate geographical term that has some legendary significance related to his dramatic subject. Thus Athene's own birthplace, familiar from the Homeric epithet Tritogeneia, suggests an elaboration on the "Libyan Land." Similarly, Athene's participation in the Battle of the

¹¹ Aesch. *Eum.* 754 ff.

¹² Aesch. *Eum.* 287 ff.

¹³ K. J. Dover, "The Political Aspect of Aeschylus' *Eumenides*," *JHS* 77 (1957) 230-237, doubts even the Egyptian reference; E. R. Dodds, "Morals and Politics in the *Oresteia*," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* n.s. 6 (1960) 19-31, accepts Egypt.

¹⁴ Thuc. 1.98-102; Plut. *Cim.* 7, 14.

Gods and the Giants places her mythically in Pallene; and just as there is good historical sense for "somewhere in the Libyan land" even if Athenian ships were not patrolling Lake Tritonis, so there is good historical sense for a mythical reference somewhere in the Thracian land even if Athenian hoplites were not battling in Pallene.

The third of the three suggestive references to places in martial contexts comes in Athene's first lines. She is back from "beside Scamandrus," where she has taken possession of lands won for her by "Achaean lords of war and first fighters."¹⁵ Why the Troad in 458? An inscription does commend Sigeum in 451, but this is very unsatisfactory. We would like to have a firmer connection with the historical circumstances of 458, and we do, but only through Cimon. Cimon is reported to have been recalled from exile in the Chersonese, where Miltiades, son of Cypselus, had established the Philaidae in the sixth century. The family was rooted across the Hellespont from the Scamander and the Troad, but both Miltiades and Stesagoras after him are reported to have carried warfare across the strait, and more importantly, in this case as in the "Libyan land" or the "Phlegraeon flat," it seems mistaken to argue with a modern cartographic precision when the ancient poet seems to be referring mythically to the history of his own day. The significant and unquestioned facts are that the family of Cimon was directly responsible for bringing Athenian control to the vital Chersonese across the Hellespont from the Scamander and that he himself seems to have come home from ostracism in this region.¹⁶ Athene's entrance must have been spectacular, and the poet seems to have used the occasion for the most favorable reference possible to the Philaid "lords of war and first fighters."

The military references are important, suggesting a political rationale for recall more compelling than the staged trial with its claims of Apollonian direction, justifiable homicide, and masculine genetics.¹⁷ But these military references are retrospective in the following senses. Aeschylus seems to look back to earlier warfare of Cimon and his family and back to the Persian enemy, not forward to the Spartan. Agamemnon

¹⁵ Aesch. *Eum.* 397 ff.

¹⁶ Hdt. 6.34-38, Theopompus, *FGrHist* 115 F88.

¹⁷ Apollo's argument of masculine genetics has been supposed to refer to Pericles. See C. Smertenko, "The Political Sympathies of Aeschylus," *JHS* 52 (1932) 233-235; Dover (above n.13) 236. Dodds is rightly cautious (above, n.13) 23. Note that Cimon could benefit from Apollo's argument, given his own maternal descent and that of his children. However, I prefer more general reading of the plays in context to any interpretation based on single lines or speeches, even *Eum.* 658 ff.

is inconceivable as a warrior-hero against Sparta, having launched the Trojan war for Menelaus, and Orestes is yet more Spartan, especially in propagandistic versions of the legend. The Argive setting used by Aeschylus is also propagandistic in the historical context of 458, but neither Agamemnon nor Orestes could well carry dramatic arguments against Sparta. Similarly, Cimon could hardly be recalled for the specific purpose of fighting Sparta, if the strength of the ties suggested by Plutarch means anything, ties ranging from his proxeny to his son's name, Lacedaemonius, to his yokefellow rhetoric and the expedition of 462.¹⁸

Aeschylus' own attitude to Sparta cannot be presumed to be unequivocally hostile on the basis of the Argive setting of the story or even the endorsement of the Argive alliance. A wide range of policies could run from active intervention in the Peloponnesus on behalf of Sparta, the policy of Cimon in 462, to active incursion if not invasion against Sparta, the policy of Tolmides in 456. Between the two there was room for malevolent non-involvement, the policy of Ephialtes in 462, and a military alliance with Argos, the policy of Pericles after 461. It would be quite possible to value the Argive alliance in the circumstances of 458 and at the same time to value in Cimon the man who could best perform any one of three tasks: beating back a Spartan invasion, shaming the Spartans from attacks of the yokefellow, or reaching with the Spartans some sort of negotiated settlement. This double valuation of both Argos and Cimon, really expressing the single valuation of an old Athenian patriot in wartime, seems to be the policy of Aeschylus in 458.¹⁹

Persia was the enemy historically, as Troy is the enemy dramatically. Aeschylus may seem critical of war in famous odes in the first play, but his respect for the warrior is stated in the words of Apollo, Orestes, Athene, and the Erinyes in the last play. Violence purged from within the community is to be directed out. After Apollo's salute to the warlord of ships and Orestes' promise of warlike assistance, the Erinyes yield to the persuasion of the warrior-goddess.²⁰

¹⁸ Plut. *Cim.* 16.

¹⁹ Aesch. *Ag.* 636–680 and *Eum.* 700–703 hardly seem anti-Spartan. Compare Pindar *Pyth.* 10.1. J. H. Quincey finds hostile references to Cleomenes and his Sparta; "Orestes and the Argive Alliance," *CQ* 12 (1962) 190–206.

²⁰ That Aeschylus "hated war and preached peace almost as passionately as Euripides" seems to have been more the opinion of Gilbert Murray in 1940 than of Aeschylus in 458; see his *Aeschylus* (Oxford 1940) 78. F. Solmsen properly objects in *Hesiod and Aeschylus* (Ithaca 1949) 213. Martial notes in the *Eumenides* include 631 ff, 669 ff, 772 ff, 864 ff, 916 ff.

FACTIONAL RECONCILIATION

Retrospective militancy is related to the appeal to contesting factions. The principle is that violence should be directed out and not in, which is very different from the principle that violence should be abandoned. Even internal violence may have a place when institutionalized through courts of law, but private and factional violence is condemned, particularly when it threatens to destroy the civilizing functions of courts.

The law court of the Areopagus is the poet's most explicit and most emphatic reference to internal politics. On this students of Aeschylus agree. The goddess Athene herself twice refers to the new court as meeting on the Hill of Ares in the laudatory foundation speech. That the Areopagus was at the center of controversy in the years just before 458 is also a matter of agreement among students of Athenian political and constitutional history. Ephialtes' reforms had forcibly if not violently removed unspecified powers from the Areopagus in 462, specifically leaving functions as a murder court. This political coup was followed by Cimon's ostracism and Ephialtes' murder, with treasonous conspiracy from the "right" and Periclean reforms from the "left" to come.²¹

But it has proven impossible to find further agreement on Aeschylus' politics. Scholars attempting to identify the poet's doctrine have covered an embarrassingly broad spectrum of possibilities. The scholarship of the last half-century, beginning with Livingstone and Smertenko, first positioned Aeschylus on the left, then more recently with Dover and Dodds established quite different positions around the center, and finally with Lloyd-Jones moved him back to the traditional place of honor on the right. Lest this movement from left back to right be thought to mark a closing of ranks in the phalanx of scholars, it should be noted that Forrest and de Ste. Croix are willing to fight for the relative honor of the left wing.²² One could hardly ask for a broader range of choice,

²¹ Thuc. 1.107.4. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 26-27.

²² R. W. Livingstone, "The Problem of the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus," *JHS* 45 (1925) 120-131; this article represents what is to me a peculiar insistence that the political allegory of the final play is attached irregularly to an apolitical trilogy; it is "a loosely connected episode, stitched on its outside." Compare R. Lattimore, *Story Patterns in Greek Tragedy* (Ann Arbor 1964) 17, for a similar distinction between dramatic substance and unrelated political afterthought. The distinction seems untenable, unless we assume that Aeschylus did his work badly. For Smertenko, Dover, and Dodds, see notes 13 and 17 above. H. Lloyd-Jones in the appendix to Aeschylus, *Eumenides* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J. 1970) 75-77. W. G. Forrest, "Themistokles and Argos," *CQ* 10 (1960) 234-240, and G. E. M. de Ste. Croix (above, n.1) both use the Argive alliance as an index of democratic radicalism.

but one could fairly suppose that there is something wrong when the most concerted study of Aeschylean politics finds the choice between the very different neutrality of Dover, in effect a full acceptance of "revolutionary democracy," and the moderation of Dodds "almost a matter of taste, a matter of personal preference."²³ An uneasy compromise of moderatisms has not resolved the issues; radicalism and conservatism are still claimed.

Much of the difficulty lies in the nature of the evidence, both poetic and historical. Unlike the comic dramatist, the tragedian never addresses us directly in his own voice, never even names contemporary political leaders or portrays contemporary political issues as such. The indirectness and allegory of whatever political meaning there may once have been are further complicated by our general ignorance of the historical context, measured, for instance, by our dim understanding of either the great reforms or the great wars of the era. But the worst difficulty is probably not with the poetic or historical evidence, but rather with our own mental habits. We persist in applying categories of political identification and interpretation that were developed only after Aeschylus' day. It is not just that "radicalism" and "conservatism" as such were unknown to the poet. "Democracy" and "oligarchy" were absent from his working vocabulary, nor is there any surviving evidence from other authors to suggest that these terms as political alternatives predate the 440s.²⁴ We may find our terms helpful as tools of political analysis, but we may also find them procrustean.

Within the received categories, political moderation best characterizes Aeschylus, particularly if the term has connotations respectful of tradition and suspicious of radical reform. But there are advantages to be gained from abandoning anachronistic categories for those of Hesiod, Solon, and the tradition prior to Aeschylus, as Solmsen's work has shown.²⁵ The most important legacy of Hesiod and Solon to Aeschylus are the Horae, particularly Dike and Eunomie. Eirene falls away from her sisters as the Athenians of Aeschylus' heroic generation honor Justice and Civic Order but not Peace. Dike in the *Oresteia* has been emphasized by Podlecki, and Eunomie figures prominently in the analyses of Forbes and Lloyd-Jones.²⁶ Dike and Eunomie, daughters of

²³ A. J. Podlecki, *The Political Background of Aeschylean Tragedy* (Ann Arbor 1966) 94-100.

²⁴ Connor (above, n.3) 63 n.54.

²⁵ Solmsen (above, n.20) *passim*.

²⁶ P. B. R. Forbes, "Law and Politics in the *Oresteia*," *CR* 62 (1948) 99-104; Lloyd-Jones (above, n.22) 77.

Zeus and Themis, together command a rule of law triumphing over more primitive chaos and political *stasis*. It is impossible to find exclusive and conclusive support in the plays for either "radical" or "conservative" alternatives, to use our anachronistic terms, because Aeschylus' purpose seems to be to appeal both to and against such factional extremes as did exist.

My somewhat hypothetical reconstruction of those extremes is that, at a time when Pericles and more democratic institutions were dominant, as represented by both paid dicasteries and the movement to open the archonships and thus the Areopagus to the Zeugitae, Cimon and his faction remained at least potentially forceful in Athenian politics. Cimon himself pressed for an early recall from ostracism, as had been the rule in the crisis of the previous generation, when Pericles' father had been among the beneficiaries. And the Cimonian Areopagus was restive under its restricted role, envious of powers usurped by newer courts, and disinclined to accept the further democratization of archons from below the horse-owning class. Foreign war against traditional allies as well as traditional Asian enemies would seem to have been the perfect occasion for Cimon and the Areopagus to press their claims against the relatively inexperienced Pericles and the Assembly. The most plausible reading of the *Oresteia* and particularly the *Eumenides* would seem to be that all private and factional vengeance such as might still turn the Philaid Cimon against the Alcmaeonid Pericles, or vice versa, must yield to public interest and institutional justice. A sympathetic Areopagus is not to convict Cimon of the vengeful murder of Ephialtes; rather, his exile is to be ended so that he may return home, presumably to settle with Spartans and to oppose Persians. The Areopagus itself is honored as a murder court, its functions as such divinely protected for all time, applying old laws and scorning new payments.²⁷ After so much is granted to Cimon and Cimonians, the peculiar conclusion of the trilogy seems to demand that they, in turn, accept a new order in which honor is not tantamount to old power, that is, that they accept the constitutional reforms of the felled Ephialtes and the still-standing Pericles.

²⁷ Aesch. *Eum.* 470 ff, 570 ff, especially 681 ff. Dodds (above, n.13) argues that the polluting innovations of the foundation speech refer to the Periclean reform admitting Zeugitae to the archonship; apparent reference to the purity of unpaid judges in the Aeropagus could well help to reinforce Hignett's argument that the innovation of dicastic jury pay had already been accomplished at this time. See Hignett (above, n.3) 342-343.

If the plays are indeed allegorical, it is not a precise allegory in which there is exactly one dramatic character for each historical character. If I am right, Agamemnon and Orestes represent Cimon. The dramatic focus is on Cimon historically, and not Ephialtes and Pericles, even less on institutions, and not at all on ideologies. We know too little of Ephialtes even to suggest that any character, such as Clytaemestra who seizes control in the hero's absence, represents him. Knowing slightly more of Pericles, but perhaps prone to exaggerate his stature in 458, we still find no representation, although the pair of "tyrants" in the *Agamemnon* might seem to the adventurous to represent a hostile reference to Ephialtes and Pericles after the coup of 462. Aeschylus' aim was not to stage history, I think, but to instruct historical figures by staged allegory. Generally, individuals seem more important than institutions. Aeschylus seems content to honor the glorious goddess and her first foundations, to protect them from the taint of money-payments or of muddled legislation, but to give no more precise constitutional prescription than the prohibition of anarchy or tyranny. Add to these prohibitions civil strife, especially such as may be rooted in familial-factional histories of conflict.

The greatest problem with this allegorical reading of the *Oresteia*, even granted the legitimacy of the attempt, may be that the Erinyes, who oppose Orestes, seem in the end to represent the Areopagus, which must be presumed Cimonian. Again, I do not wish to claim staged history. The dramatist Aeschylus was fond of exaggerations and reversals even in his allegory, as exemplified by my interpretation of first the murdered Agamemnon and then the murdering Orestes as both Cimon. Such exaggeration and reversal may be calculated to appeal to and instruct both factions by showing each the perspective of the other. In the *Eumenides* the Chorus opposing Orestes may be thought to force home on Cimonians the recognition of their own past wrong, even by their own standards as traditionally applied in their own institutions. More probably, this Chorus is first seen only as the ghoulish threat to the hero, with Apollo and Athene variously defenders; then, after the acquittal and return, comes the shocking reversal of a new identification in which the opposition of old powers to Athene's new order, in historical fact "Periclean democracy," risks an undesirable role with neither power nor honor for Areopagites, neither prosperity nor order for Athens. What is now dullest and least satisfactory may in context have been most dramatic and most historical. Vaguely and hyperbolically, Erinyes are granted the "handling entire of men's lives," but too much cannot be made of this in efforts to determine Aeschylus' constitutional

recommendations.²⁸ His Erinyes are not so much concerned with definite powers as with old values and their own honor. Assured of these, they put on stained garments symbolizing both old blood picked up from the ground and political guestship under Zeus.

Aeschylus lived in the pre-critical world of Zeus and his children, a very fully political world even as it was religious. He did not have to work his way among organized conceptions opposing democracy and oligarchy, nor did he have to cross or blur party lines in order to exhort citizens eunomically. There may be dramatic references to the people and tyranny, anarchy and despotism, but there is no hint of the many and the few. There is only the city, its gods, its leaders, and their followers. The city must recall its greatest leader and agree to follow harmoniously Athene's ordinances, so that, rendering grace for grace, citizens may come together in a common love and stay together in a common hatred. Athene's persuasion succeeds in turning the Erinyes from threats of civil war to prayers against it. She then prophesies success for the "kindly company of those within our ground" — and for the strong men who march on its surface.²⁹

That the *Oresteia* is not "just" the political plea of a moment is attested by its survival as the first masterpiece of the western dramatic tradition. That it was such a plea at all is not certain and may not be accepted by many modern students of history, who have followed Thucydides' reasoned concern for precision and verification and his contempt for myth and allegory, or by many modern students of tragedy, who have followed Aristotle's reasoned distinction between poetry and history and his philosophical insistence that the former concerns universals, not particulars. But the world of 458 was already dead for Thucydides and Aristotle, judging from their brief and inadequate analyses of external and internal politics. It is possible that that world may still come to life in the less reasoned but more vital drama of Aeschylus, wise through the very real sufferings of his city.

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²⁸ Aesch. *Eum.* 927 ff.

²⁹ Aesch. *Eum.* 976 ff.

HAS GOOD PREVAILED?
A FURTHER STUDY OF THE *ORESTEIA*

PHILIP VELLACOTT

TRAGEDY is, in its nature, a moral situation. The *Oresteian Trilogy* is concerned with anger, murder, and justice; such concepts as humanity and pity, the sense of right, the urgency of restitution, and above all the sense of *αἰδώς* — all are treated with the utmost seriousness. It seems, then, that the central issue of the drama may be not merely political or judicial, but moral.

The parados of *Agamemnon* recounts, and reflects upon, two events: the setting out of the expedition against Troy; and the sacrifice of Iphigenia, prescribed as an expedient (*μῆχαρ*, 199) to allay the storm which prevented sailing. In this latter narrative the poet makes one element of his moral position remarkably clear. The sacrifice is an act for which he searches his vocabulary of condemnation: "impious, impure, unholy, reckless, shameful . . . a heartless insanity, the prime cause of misery . . . He could endure to be the sacrificer of his daughter" (*Agam.* 218–227). The moral canon here laid down is that of humanity and pity. There is a direct dramatic reason why it is stated with such prominence: the deed described, a deed without humanity or pity, provides the motive for every utterance and act of the central character. The parodos demands that in each of Clytemnestra's appearances we interpret her in the light of that past scene which she will not speak of until she has accomplished justice. In accomplishing justice she will herself forget humanity and pity, mingling Cassandra's blood with that of her daughter's murderer.

But the Elders too forget. In the name of humanity and pity they have condemned Agamemnon; and in the name of Zeus they have described the inexorable law governing human life, *πάθει μάθος* (177, 249–250), the sequence of cause and effect, the inescapable doom of those who trample on things that should not be touched (371–372). Yet when, as the palace doors are opened (1372 ff), they see their own philosophy exemplified before their eyes, the rule of Zeus vindicated, they forget the scene at Aulis with which they had moved the audience to tears, and know only their anger and fear as they face a woman who has

successfully rebelled against man. Now Clytemnestra finds words for the indignation she has nursed unspoken for ten years, and for three-quarters of this play. Four times she denounces the crime she has justly requited. When the Elders ask what obsequies shall be observed for Agamemnon, she replies (1555-1559): "At the river of death he shall be met, as is fitting, by his daughter Iphigenia; she shall welcome him, throw her arms around him, and kiss him." Only after that final thrust do the Elders, for a brief moment, recall their perception of the rule of Zeus, *παθεῖν τὸν ἔρξαντα* (1564). But they will not accept it. After telling how a king killed his innocent daughter they still hoped "that good might prevail"; but when an outraged woman kills her guilty husband they express no such hope. Instead, having transferred their *οἶκτος* from Iphigenia to the father who killed her, they now abandon *αἰδώς*. They look for a yet worse trampling of sanctities: they name Orestes, and pray for matricide (1430, 1646-1648, 1667).

In the parodos the refrain *αἶλινον αἶλινον εἶπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω* occurs at 121, 139, and 159. It is repeated in a different form at 255, and echoed in 217 at the end of the thoughts they ascribe to Agamemnon; and Clytemnestra at 349 prays,

τὸ δ' εὖ κρατοίη μὴ διχορρόπως ἰδεῖν.

The theme and the imagery of battle and victory recur all through the trilogy, until in *Eum.* 741 Athena announces that (even though the Areopagites voted *διχορρόπως*) nevertheless *νικᾷ Ὁρέστης*. The whole action, from the "carpet scene" in *Agamemnon* to the victory of *Πειθώ* in Athena's dialogue with the Erinyes (*Eum.* 970), is a series of battles lost and won. The prayer of the Argive Elders is not a confident prayer; they couple it with a cry of lament. That refrain insists that we cannot hope to understand what happens in *Agamemnon* until we have watched the final encounter in *Eumenides* and made our own judgement of the event. There is little doubt of the judgement made by the original audience, who awarded Aeschylus the first prize, and went home exalted with the glory of Athens. But the poet began his trilogy with a doubtful question; and we should not assume that he offered the trial in *Eumenides* as an enactment of the victory of *τὸ εὖ* until we have studied such indications as he gives us in the three plays of what he regards as "good."

Briefly, Aeschylus establishes a single moral canon in three different aspects in the three plays. This canon is not justice. The Elders see no further than justice, nor do the chorus in *Choephoroi*; the annihilation of Troy, and the two murders, were all just, and Aeschylus shows them all as disastrous crimes. Justice marks the first primitive stage of moral

growth, and is in itself inadequate to the needs of a civilized community. It can become constructive only when administered with integrity in a court of inexorable law. The moral values Aeschylus establishes are: in *Agamemnon*, humanity and pity; in *Choephoroi*, reverence for kindred blood; in *Eumenides*, judicial integrity. In each case he shows human action,¹ willingly or unwillingly, destroying the principle involved. The concept common to all three principles is that of αἰδώς, which the poet names at the crucial point of the whole action, when Orestes confronts his mother (*Cho.* 896-903).

Clytemnestra kneels and bares her breast. "My child, show reverence for (αἰδεσσαι) this breast, where often you lay . . ." Orestes turns to Pylades: "What shall I do? Shall I show reverence (αἰδεσθῶ) and not kill my mother?" It is the same struggle his father faced when (*Agam.* 205-217) he considered on the one hand the fragile inner authority of love, home, and parenthood, and on the other the harsh external pressure of military reputation. For Orestes the crime contemplated is fraught with even deeper horror. For a man to destroy the source of his own life was an act unheard of, one whose awfulness fills this play with brooding sickness. Orestes has likened his mother to a snake (*Cho.* 249); later he recognizes that in killing her he will himself lose his human nature and "become in every respect a snake" (ἐκδρακοντωθεῖς, 549). In *Eumenides* we shall notice that the quality of αἰδώς, the capacity for horror, has faded, and is replaced by a concern for ritual and legal status.

Orestes from his first entrance appears to be convinced that he has no alternative; but the long speech (269-305) in which he so persuades himself mentions neither justice, nor the need to cleanse his house, nor the city's welfare. It is the speech of a guilty man acting against his own judgement — a recital of torments with which he says Apollo threatened him, should he fail to carry out his revenge — all the torments of the Erinyes. These threats are not only entirely improbable in themselves, but are specifically contradicted by the Erinyes in a serious statement of their primeval function (*Eum.* 313-315): "No anger from us pursues the man whose hands are clean; he lives an unharmed life." Either Apollo or Orestes is lying. Orestes shows how confused his thought is by saying first that he acts under dire compulsion, and then at the end of the same speech, that even if he does not believe the oracle, still he must do the deed (*Cho.* 297 ff). The invocation which follows is an elaborate formula in which Orestes, supported by Electra and the chorus, convinces

¹ In *Eumenides* Athena is identified with, or symbolical of, the Athenian jurors.

himself and the audience that the most shameful crime known to mankind is inevitable.

So he reaches the crucial moment, in which he must either obey the fragile inner authority of αἰδώς, or reject it and destroy his own humanity. He appeals to Pylades, who answers (900-902): "Where then in future are Apollo's Pythian oracles, and men's trustworthy oaths? Think all men your enemies, rather than the gods." This answer crystallizes the central issue of the trilogy: What is the final source of moral authority? Clytemnestra has appealed against Apollo to something which is shared by all mankind, to the sense of αἰδώς. Pylades in his last line names two opposed authorities (902):

ἅπαντας ἐχθροὺς τῶν θεῶν ἡγοῦ πλέον.

This pronouncement carries an impressive religious tone. Had it been spoken to encourage a man in some noble enterprise favored by heaven and opposed by unprincipled mortals, it would be an edifying watchword. The speech has usually been viewed in this light; but it is a false light, because the condition is not fulfilled, but reversed. The judgement of "all mankind" which condemns matricide is based on a principle primeval and even physiological in origin, both earlier and more universal than the authority of Apollo; yet the word of an oracle, Pylades says, must overrule αἰδώς. This answer, so far from being — as both he and Orestes take it to be — the justification of matricide, implies condemnation of the oracle; it bids Orestes declare himself, by obeying Apollo, the enemy of all mankind. Below the equivocal surface lies a different meaning: man must learn, by obeying rather than destroying his own nature, to recognize the absolute authority of an internal voice closer to him than any divine command.

The authority of αἰδώς, being far older than the organized societies of the Olympian era, represents the simple, irreducible beginnings of moral consciousness: "Thou shalt not shed the blood that gave thee life; thou shalt not harm the guest under thy roof." Punishment for breach of such laws was instituted by Fate at the creation of the world (*Eum.* 171-175, 269-272, 333-340, 347, etc.). When the Olympians came they encouraged new conventions but could not dispense with old principles, however indifferent they might be to human morality. Aeschylus, by presenting the Erinyes in the horrific garb of popular fancy, challenged his audience to recognize moral values under whatever disguise. They failed his test — as, indeed, did Zeus, who, Orestes claimed, judged by appearance (*Eum.* 760-761, ὁρῶν). Critics too, both ancient and modern, encouraged by Apollo's intemperate abuse and

Athena's patronizing smoothness, have assumed that Aeschylus presents the Erinyes as barbarous and bloodthirsty creatures who are converted by Olympian justice and eloquence to civilized behaviour. (A still more curious distortion of Aeschylus' text sometimes goes unchallenged: the notion that the Erinyes uphold the primitive order of bloody revenge, while Apollo favors trial and conviction by impartial law. This is the opposite of what in fact happens in *Eumenides*.)² What character, then, did Aeschylus establish for his chorus? The Erinyes' own words provide the answer.

"We hold that our judgement is incorruptible, we are εὐθυδίκαιοι" (*Eum.* 312). "We are honest witnesses, μάρτυρες ὀρθαί" (318). "The man who has clean hands no anger from us pursues; he lives his life unharmed" (313-315). "When family strife sheds kindred blood, we pursue the killer, however strong he is" (355-358). "We are a holy and inexorable record of evil deeds" (381-383). "Now the standard of right and wrong shall be reversed, if the pernicious justice (δίκη τε καὶ βλάβη), which this mother-murderer claims, is to prevail" (490-493). "Somewhere wholesome dread must remain enthroned" (517-519). Many other lines of equally clear moral content could be quoted. The Erinyes do not, like Apollo, argue about the wickedness of matricide; they know it, and know that their audience knows it, even if Athena hears of it without shock (425-427, 595, etc.) Their threats against Athens in the event of Orestes' acquittal are their prophecy of the disastrous condition of a city in which αἰδώς is neglected, where a matricide can be acquitted and sent away with honor. They insist throughout that fundamental standards of right and wrong do not change; that law must be holy and inexorable; and their whole argument implies that men are responsible for their deeds, even when performed on divine command, because morality is the province not of Olympian gods but of mortals. As far as line 880 they never deviate from their principles. What happens after that I shall discuss later; but the main part of the play presents the Erinyes' words as the chief, if not the only, voice in the trilogy establishing a clear moral canon.

Thus it is the moral issue, rather than the political, which forms the focus of the trilogy and of the trial in which it culminates. It is true that the terms in which Athena founds her court of homicide refer clearly to a particular, living, political issue: the recent curtailment, by Ephialtes and the progressive democrats, of the powers of the Areopagus. But to claim *first* importance in *Eumenides* for even so immediate a

² See, e.g., C. M. Bowra, *Landmarks in Greek Literature* (1966) 126.

political allusion as this is to contradict the moral and emotional level on which the drama has moved in the first two plays. The heart of the trilogy is its comment on mankind's struggle for moral independence and vision — a comment which becomes specific at *Cho.* 896–903. Once this is perceived, we shall find that after the first two tragedies, *Eumenides* presents not so much a synthesis of old and new traditions as a statement of conflict and a warning of defeat; that Aeschylus presents the trial of Orestes not as a civilized alternative to murderous revenge but as an inadequate and corruptible substitute for a positive and humane moral standard; and that what appears on the surface as a celebration of national unity and confidence is, on a deeper level, an ironic enactment of the most comprehensive tragedy of all, the moral tragedy of Athens.

Now we come to the trial, the critical encounter which must provide an answer, positive or negative, to the prayer which dominated the opening of the trilogy, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω. Critics in general have found the outcome satisfactory; but the conduct of the trial has caused embarrassment. A careful account of what actually happens will make Page's modest assertion that "the trial-scene itself is . . . rather weak" seem like a monumental understatement.³

In the preliminary hearing Athena (despite the insistence of the choruses in *Agamemnon* and *Choephori* that blood impiously spilt can never be cleansed, e.g., *Agam.* 69–71, 381–384, *Cho.* 66–74, 310–314, 400–404) accepts Orestes' assertion (made dubious by *Eum.* 64–93, where it is not even mentioned) that he has been purified (447–453); she calls him her "pure and harmless suppliant" and "welcomes him as blameless" (474–475). Having thus verbally prejudged the issue she promises to appoint jurors who will reverence their oaths (483).

The charge brought by the Erinyes is simple: "He took upon himself to be his mother's murderer" (425). The first stasimon was devoted to emphasizing the ancient, immutable, and inexorable nature of the law against kin-murder; the second to forecasting the disastrous condition of a city where this law can be set aside. The Erinyes' principle that a deterrent is necessary to a healthy society (517–525) anticipates what Athena will say in her address to the Areopagites (698–699). In the trial they make no speech of prosecution. When Orestes admits that he killed his mother, and suggests (606) that this killing is like any other, they ask (607–608); "What? Did she not nourish you within her womb, polluted man? Do you disown the closest of blood-ties, a mother's?" Orestes has no answer; he asks Apollo to continue the defense.

³ Introduction to *Agamemnon*, p. xxii n.1.

Apollo's first speech states that all his oracles bear the authority of Zeus; and bids the jurors, who are on oath to ensure "that justice be well discerned" (573), remember that "an oath is no stronger than Zeus" (621). His second speech begins by saying that the death of a woman "is not at all the same thing" as the death of a great and honored king; and then recounts, as justification of matricide, the murder of Agamemnon by his wife. He thus invokes as valid that principle of bloody revenge which the court was established to replace. It is the same principle which motivated Clytemnestra's crime. If Apollo's argument is sound, Clytemnestra's act was a just requital, and Orestes' act was therefore unjust in that it punished a just avenger. Again, if, as Apollo says, it was right that Clytemnestra be punished, it was no less right that Orestes be punished for his yet more polluting crime.

The third speech is a foolish blunder which weakens Apollo's case; the fact that death is irrevocable (647-648) condemns both Agamemnon and Orestes in the same terms as it condemns Clytemnestra. The fourth speech, offering the theory that the father, not the mother, is a child's true parent, is little more than a rhetorical compliment to Athena. It contends that the universal horror of matricide, expressed in 653-656, ought not rationally to exist. But it does exist. The compliment is followed by the offer of a political bribe in return for the desired verdict. The chorus now feel their case vindicated by the corrupt manner in which the defense has been conducted: "You have heard what you have heard," they say; and they exhort the jurors to remember *αἰδώς* (679-680).

Athena begins her charge to the court by tacitly accepting the contention of Apollo's fourth speech, that matricide is like any other killing: she tells the jurors they are "judging the first suit of bloodshed" (682). Thus she contradicts what she laid down in 583-584, that "it is for the prosecutor, who speaks first, to define precisely what the trial is about." This has been done; the trial is about matricide, not simply murder (587-589). After some impressive lines about the purity of law (690-695), Athena confirms the Erinyes' principle that fear of inexorable justice is necessary to public morality (698-699); and constitutes the court as a council which shall be

*αἰδοῖον, ὀξύθυμον, εὐδόντων ὕπερ
ἐγρηγορὸς φρούρημα γῆς.*
(705-706)

Finally she bids them "reverence their oath." If we interpret her words rationally, we must say that she is directing the jurors to bring a verdict

of guilty. If the accused is acquitted, τὸ δεινὸν εὖ (517) is dethroned, and men will not sleep in peace. The court does not even have to take the onus of punishment; for the Erinyes, who perform this function for Zeus himself, will undertake the task. If the deterrent principle is to yield, it can surely be replaced only by some other still more potent, more humane, moral principle. The *agon* of the first two plays has been passionately moral; no superficial or expedient solution can be anything but a mockery. Now the votes are cast; the two urns are brought to Athena as president. She speaks (735-738):

My vote goes to uphold Orestes' plea.
 No mother gave me birth. Therefore the father's claim,
 And male supremacy in all things . . . wins my loyalty.

The goddess makes no mention of right or wrong, of the needs of a healthy society. She betrays the deterrent principle she has solemnly enjoined on the court. Her decision recognizes neither justice nor mercy; it divides the human race into two halves, and pronounces justice inapplicable to the weaker half. In judging which of two crimes was the more heinous, she allows the plea of provocation to one side while denying it to the other, and considers not intention, not penitence, not consanguinity, but the sex of the victim. Her "principle" moves from the inadequacy of justice not towards an idea of goodness, but towards the interest of a social structure founded on power. The decision is thus not more than just but less than just. Athena answers anguish with convention, seriousness with complacency, the universal with the incidental, the profound with the expedient.

Let us for a moment turn our eyes from the stage to the audience — for this was surely what engrossed the author as he watched the effect of his trial scene. The audience is applauding. Presently, after the panathenaic hymn of joy, they will award first prize to Aeschylus. We need not conclude that they approve either murderous revenge or matricide. But they have seen the august court of Arcopagus, presided over by Athena, conduct a trial on lines familiar to every one of them from regular jury service, and the proceedings have exemplified every offense against integrity which they condemn in theory but approve in practice — prevarication, intimidation, evasion of issue, bribery; and they recognize all this as normal, and find the verdict acceptable. They cannot even plead that it is an act of mercy, for mercy has not been mentioned. For the dramatist, the acquittal of Orestes was his given material; he has used it to put his fellow citizens on trial for corruption; and they are self-condemned by their applause.

The chorus, betrayed by both Athena and her jurors, suffer a painful shock and are for a while speechless; this is for them the first evidence that the defeat of morality in human society has indeed begun. Their forecast in the second stasimon must now prove true. In bitter indignation they utter a recital of threats against Athens. These threats are not, as has often been assumed, a picturesque charade of thwarted malice soon to be soothed by civilized and patient eloquence. The truth is the very reverse. The disasters foretold symbolize those which in sober reality await a city which has renounced αἰδώς; where the ancient rule of Zeus, παθεῖν τὸν ἔρξαντα, is replaced by a δίκη which offers hope of acquittal for even the most polluting crime.

Athena now has one task remaining: the champions of humane morality, of primeval αἰδώς, must be disarmed. Like Apollo in the trial, she makes four speeches. Her first gives, in specious terms, an entirely false account of proceedings we have all witnessed, followed by the promise of a home "and shining thrones in this righteous land" (805-806). In her second speech Athena disclaims the use of force, but mentions that she has a key to Zeus's thunderbolt. She repeats her promise of ritual privileges, but says nothing of the Erinyes' solemn function as guardians of the primary moral laws. (The later promise in the lyric section, 934-937, was mocked before it was made, by Athena's casting vote.) After this, a prediction of the future glory of Athens combines with patient and respectful persuasion to assure the Erinyes that they have no hope and no support. The charge they brought was never considered; the issue was evaded, the trial of Orestes adroitly turned into the trial of Clytemnestra; the goddess's gestures of judicial integrity meant nothing. So victory goes not to τὸ εὖ but to despair. The last choice in the trilogy is made; it is a total and final abdication. Athena has silenced the sole voice that insisted on an absolute distinction between good and evil. The defeat of αἰδώς on the stage, and the approval of that defeat by the audience, symbolically anticipate, in the poet's prophetic vision, that erosion of general moral standards which within three decades led to the appalling collapse manifested in the events of 427 B.C., and described by Thucydides in 3.82-84. Henceforth the Erinyes will be εὐμενίδες, kindly, to those who most need their cruel sternness.

To most of the audience this surrender by the Erinyes is victory for the desirable and manifestly successful status quo, the triumph of politic eloquence over female stubbornness, of plausible accommodation over tiresome and unrealistic sentiment. If the author himself had felt that this yielding gave the victory to a principle of humanity, to τὸ δίκαιον in its highest sense, would he not have provided sounder

reasons for the Erinyes' change of heart, some ground more honorable than Athena's mixture of misrepresentation, threat, and bribery? Could he not have given the chorus leader a line of some dignity, rather than one which, unless it is tragically ironic, turns tragedy to farce? He could; and he did not. "What place, divine Athena, do you offer me?" (892). In this line the tragedy is fulfilled. The nation of Athens, had it been the kind of community it believed itself to be, could have hoped with reason for the blessings now about to be pronounced by the chorus. But a nation where the strictness of moral authority is weakened, and replaced with a pliant judicial formality, where even justice is inapplicable to one half of the free community, and where the most polluting of crimes can now hope for acquittal — such a nation is more likely to inherit the curse the Erinyes uttered before they were corrupted than the blessing they pronounced after. If the poet had not known this, he could not and would not have written this trilogy.⁴

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⁴ This article contains the essence of a talk given in the Harvard Classics Department in October 1975.

THREE PASSAGES FROM THE *ANDROMACHE*

DAVID KOVACS

THE three discussions presented here are rather lengthy by the standard of textual notes. The reason is that the emendations and reinterpretations I propose entail important consequences not only for the wording of the play but also for our understanding of what actually happens in it. These consequences ought to be accepted or rejected on all the available evidence.

26-28 AND 36-38

- 25 καὶ γὰρ δόμοις τοῖσδ' ἄρσεν' ἐντίκτω κόρον,
πλαθεῖς Ἀχιλλέως παιδί, δεσπότη γ' ἐμῷ.
καὶ πρὶν μὲν ἐν κακοῖσι κειμένην ὅμως
ἐλπίς μ' αἰεὶ προσῆγε σωθέντος τέκνου
ἀλκὴν τιν' εὐρεῖν κάπικούρησιν κακῶν
30 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν Λάκαιναν Ἑρμιόνην γαμεῖ
τοῦμόν παρώσας δεσπότης δοῦλον λέχος,
κακοῖς πρὸς αὐτῆς σχετλίοις ἐλαύνομαι.
λέγει γὰρ ὥς νιν φαρμάκοις κεκρυμμένοις
τίθημι ἄπαιδα καὶ πόσει μισουμένην,
αὐτὴ δὲ ναίειν οἶκον ἀντ' αὐτῆς θέλω
35 τόνδ', ἐκβαλοῦσα λέκτρα τὰ κείνης βίᾳ·
ἀγῶ τὸ πρῶτον οὐχ ἔκοῦσ' ἐδεξάμην,
νῦν δ' ἐκλέλοιπα· Ζεὺς τάδ' εἰδείη μέγας,
ὥς οὐχ ἔκοῦσα τῷδ' ἐκοινώθην λέχει.
ἀλλ' οὐ σφε πείθω, κτλ.
25 γ' Brunck τ' codd. δ' Elmsley 28 δόμων
B O (γρ. κακῶν B) 38 versum seclisit Nauck

Even though this passage¹ contains two separate areas of difficulty,

¹ The *lemmata* throughout are quoted from Murray's Oxford text. The majority of the conjectures come from Prinz-Wecklein's appendix. Reference is made throughout to the following works by author's name and page or line number: J. T. Allen and G. Italie, *Concordance to Euripides* (London 1954); Domenico Bassi, *Andromaca* (Milan 1933); Anne Pippin Burnett, *Catastrophe Survived* (Oxford 1971); J. D. Denniston, *Electra* (Oxford 1939); id., *The Greek Particles*, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1954); Antonio Garzya, *Andromaca*, 2nd ed. (Naples 1963); A. R. F. Hyslop, *The Andromache of Euripides* (London and New York 1900);

I treat it as a whole because the two illuminate each other and cannot be treated in isolation. The passage shows very clearly the advantages of considering, and the dangers of ignoring, the larger context of any textual problem in Euripides. More than a century ago Paley warned against assuming that Euripidean speeches are easy reading. "It is not too much to say that they are often construed without any regard to the logical sequence of one verse with another."²

Lines 26–28 involve us in two difficulties at once: What does *προσῆγε* mean? On what does *εὔρεῖν* depend? Since the answers we give to the second question affect our response to the first, it is convenient to begin with the infinitive.

There are two ways to take *εὔρεῖν*: it can be construed with *προσῆγε* or with *ἐλπίς*. If we choose the former, we soon run into difficulty. *ἀλκὴν τιν' εὔρεῖν* means to produce a palpable alteration in someone's circumstances. (Cf. S. *OT*. 42, 218.) But hope cannot urge or lead Andromache to do this since it does not lie in her power. Furthermore, the very possibility of finding this defense is linked, by the genitive absolute, to an event that is still future: if the child shall have survived (to manhood). Lastly, *προσάγειν* does not elsewhere govern an infinitive.³

If we construe *εὔρεῖν* in apposition to *ἐλπίς*, as do Hyslop and Bassi, we are much better off. "The hope . . . that if the child grew up safely, I would find some kind of defense and an aid against trouble." We now have a clear reference to a definite future contingency. At the same time, we are no longer obliged to apologize for compression, whether slight or grave. The tense of *εὔρεῖν* is right, too, for we are now within the familiar orbit of such expressions as *ἐλπίς ἐστι σωθῆναι κακῶν* (*Or.* 779) and *ἐλπίς δ' ἔκ γε πλουσίων δόμων λαβεῖν τι* (*Hel.* 432–433).⁴ This is undoubtedly the right construction.

Louis Méridier, *Euripide* II, (Paris 1927); Denys L. Page, *Medea* (Oxford 1938); F. A. Paley, *Euripides with an English Commentary*, 3 vols. (London 1857–1880). P. T. Stevens, *Andromache* (Oxford 1971); A. W. Verrall, *Essays on Four Plays of Euripides* (Cambridge 1905).

² II p. vii.

³ Only Méridier, Garzya, and Stevens construe *εὔρεῖν* with *προσῆγε*. Stevens and Garzya try to get around the difficulty of hope urging Andromache to do something that is not in her power and still lies in the future by saying that "Hope urged me to find" is a compressed form of "Hope led me to think that I should find." They can quote only a Latin parallel, and even that is dubious.

The middle *προσάγεσθαι* appears to govern an infinitive in two places (S. *OT*. 131 and E. *Ion* 659). But that may be only apparent (cf. Hdt. 2.172 where *ᾧστε* is used) and in any case is not evidence for the use of the active voice.

⁴ For the present or aorist infinitive with *ἐλπίς* or *εἰκός*, see Kühner-Gerth I 195, Anm. 7.

It still remains to determine the meaning of *προσῆγε*, in particular whether any satisfactory sense can be found for the prefix *προσ-*. The only suggestion made so far⁵ is "to lead on, allure." Thus Garzya translates (as his second preference⁶) *mi allettava*; Bassi suggests *allettare*, *lusingare*, or poetically, *sorridere* as the proper predicate for the subject hope; and Paley gives "kept leading me on." None of these scholars gives a single example which might support such a rendering. The reason is that there is none to be found: the verb does not mean "to lead on." We might also ask ourselves to what point Andromache was led on by hope. To some rash folly she now regrets? That is what the words lead us to expect. The text, however, is silent.⁷

This same consideration of context disposes of Musgrave's conjecture *παρῆγε*. If the hope she placed in her child "led her astray" or "deceived" her, we should expect to be able to see what she could have done had she been undeceived. But it is not clear that she could have acted any differently. To be led astray is to make a wrong choice between alternatives: Andromache had none.

Other conjectures aim at producing a periphrasis for "I hoped." Jacobs' *ποτ' εἶχε* is initially attractive in its verb, for if you can say *φόβος μ' ἔχει*, why not *ἐλπίς μ' ἔχει*? But languages are capricious about such things, and an example would help. To my knowledge, there is none. Paleographically, too, the whole is not a smooth transition. And the adverb wears, one must own, a rather makeshift look. The adverb in Nauck's *πως ἦρε* is open to the same objection. F. W. Schmidt's *προσῆλθε* is lovely (hope's visitations), but among the many actions which a slightly personified hope might perform, we do not find *προσέρχεσθαι*.⁸ The same applies to Elmsley's paleographically neat *προσῆε*.⁹ In addition this word is in the wrong dialect: Attic requires *-ῆειν* or *-ῆει*.

If we return somewhat discouraged to our text, we might try the supposition that the *προσ-* of *προσῆγε* has its plain literal meaning. We shall therefore need to supply a noun in the dative indicating that to which hope led Andromache. This might well come from the previous sentence, *δεσπότῃ*. And the verb would therefore mean "drew (or

⁵ With one exception, to be discussed below.

⁶ His first is the same as Stevens's.

⁷ A similar objection holds for Reiske's *προῆγε*. In addition, this verb is confined to prose.

⁸ Or. 859 is not an example. What has come to Electra is not hope or expectation but the *thing* which she expected and feared.

⁹ A. Ag. 817 is not a parallel. If hope may be said to approach an urn, that is rather different from approaching a human consciousness. And the urn is in the dative instead of the accusative.

attached) me to (my master).” Méridier, in fact, expresses in his note an opinion he does not act on in his translation. “Il paraît plus naturel de comprendre: *m’attirait à lui* (bien que le moyen soit plus usité en ce sens), *εὐρεῖν* développant *ἐλπίς*.”

There is, however, a textual problem that must be faced before we consider the consequences of this supposition. In 28, *κακῶν* is the *lectio facilior* and looks suspiciously like a scribal conjecture. Both B and O read *δόμων*, a difficult word in this context, but on that account a very unlikely mistake for the plain and inviting *κακῶν*. There is nothing grammatically wrong with the way the line is usually printed. But if B and O had been our only witnesses, and if editors had been spared the temptation to premature ease that the other manuscripts offer, I am fairly certain that 27–28 would look as follows today in all our editions:

σωθέντος τέκνου
ἀλκὴν τιν’ εὐρεῖν καπικούρησιν δόμον.

“... that if the boy lived our house would find some kind of help and defense.” This paleographically easy change allows us to account for everything the manuscripts provide.¹⁰ It also rids us of a stylistic infelicity and removes a logical absurdity.

Stylistically, it is awkward to say, in the space of three lines, “Though I was sunk in *misfortune*, nevertheless the hope drew me to him that I would find aid and a defense against *misfortune*.” It is true that Greek ears were less sensitive than ours to repetition. It is not clear that their tolerance would extend this far.

Even if Greek ears were not offended by such a sentence, Greek logic would be. For either *κακῶν* in 28 refers to the same misfortunes as those in 26 or it does not. If it does, we have nonsense. For the evils of 26 are most naturally taken as the ones she has just enumerated (the loss of husband, son, and country), and against these there is no help, nor even some kind of (τιν’) defense.¹¹ If by some chance *κακοῖς* means the indignities of forced cohabitation with her master (Brunck’s overemotive

¹⁰ Examples of *-ων* for *-ον* and vice versa are common. In this play alone see 43, 72, 138, 148, 303 (bis), 481, 497, 522, 602, 757, 1041, 1147, 1180, 1214, and 1246. Once *δόμον* became a genitive plural, it called for “correction.”

It would also be possible to write *δόμῳ*, another easy corruption. But *δόμον* seems preferable.

¹¹ Aside from places like *El.* 137–138 where *ἐπικούρος* with the genitive means “avenger” (see Denniston, ad loc.), an *ἐπικούρος κακῶν* is someone who averts or rescues from evils. (Cf. *Or.* 211, *IA* 1027; *X. Mem.* 4.3.7.) There is no way to avert things — like the fall of Troy — that have already happened.

and unnecessary γ' in 25 is the only evidence for this¹²), that makes no sense either, for the survival of her child offers no plausible hope for the alteration of that condition. If, however, κακῶν refers to different misfortunes from those in 26, the use of the same word to designate both is careless writing. In addition, the mind is hard put to imagine what other evils Andromache might be referring to.¹³

There are objections which might be raised against δόμον, but they turn out upon inspection to be either inconclusive or points in its favor. It seems odd at first glance for this slave-woman in her miserable circumstances to be concerning herself with what are essentially dynastic matters, the continued well-being of her δόμος. And indeed, a δόμος most of whose members are dead and whose living members are far from their ancestral home is a somewhat problematic concept.

But Andromache, to take the first point, is no ordinary slave-woman. She is a princess, and she thinks like one all through the play. Her opening lines recall the day she came to Troy from Thebe, to be the wife of Hector and mother of his line (παιδοποιός). Her next words describe the destruction of that line, including its youngest member, Astyanax. It is not surprising that the child who may yet live should be viewed in the same light as the one who has died, as that posterity which is so crucial to the Greek hope of immortality. In Molossus, Andromache and all her ancestors live on.¹⁴

But can Andromache, who has long since lost her δόμος in the concrete sense of ancestral home, use the word to mean γένος? She is not alone in this usage. Jason, too, has lost his ancestral home, yet Medea can speak of destroying his "house" (*Med.* 114, 794) and Jason of

¹² See apparatus and Stevens ad loc. Albin Lesky, *Die tragische Dichtung der Hellenen*, 3rd ed. (Göttingen 1972) 339, lays much stress on the particle but does not note its provenance.

¹³ The candid reader should also consider the natural implications of ὄμως (26). That word should not imply the unreality of what goes before it, should not suggest that the trouble in which she was submerged was slight or temporary. It should suggest, on the contrary, that something else is true in spite of the inescapable fact of misfortune. Reading κακῶν, we have Andromache the plucky optimist hoping that something may bring a change in her fortunes (as if anything could really do that); with δόμον, we have an Andromache who looks to the future of her descendants as the only consolation for the irrecoverable ruin of her personal happiness.

¹⁴ It is obvious, of course, that there can be no continuation of Hector's line, at any rate not through Andromache. (The Hectoridae mentioned by Hellanicus fr. 31 J apparently trace their lineage to Hector's bastards.) But the Trojan line survives in Molossus.

raising his children in a fashion worthy of it (562). Even more strikingly, Hecuba — a slave on her way to a strange land — can refer to Polydorus as “the sole anchor of my house” (*Hec.* 80). There is thus no obstacle to treating *δόμος* as the equivalent of *γένος* in our passage.

It could be argued that *δόμον* (Andromache’s) would be confusing and ambiguous after *δόμοις* (Neoptolemus’) in 24. But the immediate context (26–28) is sufficiently clear to avert misunderstanding. Andromache’s hope can only have to do with her own house, not with that of her master. And the mention of the boy’s survival would suggest her own posterity.

It should also be noted that Andromache’s house is mentioned twice in this prologue (3 and 13), even before that of Neoptolemus. And in one place, there seems to be a marked contrast between Neoptolemus’ house and Andromache’s. In 35, *τόνδε* is in the most emphatic position possible, an adjective separated by three words from its noun, the first word in its line, enjambed closely with the previous line, and followed by a strong pause. This kind of emphasis — and a more marked one it is hard to imagine — implies a contrast with some other house. That should be our *δόμον* in 28.¹⁵

We are now ready to consider the implications of these readings. Here is a translation of 24–35:

And to this house I bore a male child, lying with Achilles’ son, my master.
And formerly, though I was sunk in distress, yet the hope always drew
me to him that if the child survived our family would find some kind of
defense and help. But since my master married the Spartan Hermione,
disdaining my servile couch, I am hounded by cruel accusations from her.

¹⁵ Other passages also emphasize this corporate dimension of the play. Andromache willingly sacrifices her own life for that of her son. What she says on that occasion is an instructive parallel to our passage: *ἐν τῷδε μὲν γὰρ ἐλπίς, εἰ σωθήσεται* (409). This does not mean, as Stevens thinks, merely that there is hope he may survive. (That is ruled out by *ἐν*.) It means rather, as Méridier correctly reads it, that the hope of his mother (and of the whole family) rests in his survival. She knows that his well-being is their only hope of immortality, of living on in their offspring. And in her next lines she bids him keep her memory green. In this she shows a lively sense of the solidarity of the family, the bond connecting the generation that passes with the one that is to come. And she makes this point explicit in 418–419: *πάσι δ’ ἀνθρώποις ἄρ’ ἦν ψυχὴ τέκνα*.

This aspect of Andromache’s character is related — not surprisingly — to the movement of the whole play. It deals throughout with the themes of children and heirs, heredity and training. (See especially 595–601, 619–623, 663–666, 766–776, 1175 ff, 1235–1237, and 1279 ff.) And it culminates in the fulfillment of Andromache’s hopes for posthumous happiness in her offspring. For her son is to become the ancestor of the fortunate Molossian kings (1249), and Troy’s continued existence (cf. 1251) is assured.

For she claims that I use secret drugs to make her childless and hateful to her husband, and that I wish to possess *this* house, ejecting her marriage bed by force.

Three assumptions are generally made about the situation at the beginning of the play: (1) Andromache had been the concubine of Neoptolemus completely against her will; (2) When Neoptolemus married Hermione, that relation ceased; (3) Hermione is sterile and believes that her condition is caused by drugs secretly given by Andromache. Two of these assumptions are made by all the play's commentators and interpreters¹⁶ and the third has few dissenters. Yet all three are false.

(1) Unless *προσῆγγε* can be convincingly emended, its clear implication is that after the birth of her son, Andromache did not share her master's bed merely because she had to, but was attached to him by the prospect of some kind of help. If the child grew up, he would be Neoptolemus' heir as well as her own, and mother and son would have some claim on his protection. This represents a well-attested sense of the verb. The middle is used of attaching people to oneself as allies, subjects, or dependents.¹⁷ Since hope is attaching Andromache not to itself but to another, the active is entirely natural. We may translate "allied me to him." The birth of the child gave Andromache hope that Neoptolemus would prove to be "some kind of defense and aid" to her family.

Some will find this distasteful on the grounds that Andromache would thereby be put in an ignoble light, contrary to the sympathetic treatment Euripides clearly intends. Andromache is already "in bed with the enemy" in the physical sense. That cannot be helped. Sentiment in some quarters will forbid that she should seem to be so in the other, the objectionable, sense of the phrase, i.e., collaborating with the destroyer of her city.

But there is no ignominy here either from the Greek point of view or from ours. We do not think the worse of Tecmessa or Briseis for their attachment to Ajax and Achilles.¹⁸ And there is nothing mercenary or self-serving about Andromache's attachment to her master. Her hopes are modest (some kind of help) and they are not for herself but for her posterity.

¹⁶ With one exception, Bassi, discussed below. G. M. A. Grube, *The Drama of Euripides* (London 1941) 201 n.1, is the only person to suggest that the evidence is ambiguous.

¹⁷ Cf. Hdt. 2.172, 6.25; Thuc. 1.99.2; Pl. *Lg.* 695d; Isoc. 10.56; in a slightly different sense, *Andr.* 226.

¹⁸ Cf. Tecmessa's speech in *Ajax* 485 ff.

Another objection might be based on οὐχ ἔκοῦσ' ἐδεξάμην and οὐχ ἔκοῦσα . . . ἐκοινώθην in 36 and 38. This emphatic denial would seem to preclude the attitude I am suggesting. But the vehemence here is a reply to the charges of Hermione, charges that she is trying to supplant her in her husband's affections. And that reply is true, even on our supposition. For the master's couch was forced on her, and whatever hopes she subsequently entertained could never be more than a *pis aller*. She did not want Neoptolemus' attentions in the first place (τὸ πρῶτον). It was unwillingly that she was made a partner (the ingressive aorist ἐκοινώθην rather than the imperfect ἐκοινούμην) in his bed. This implies nothing about any subsequent hopes she might have conceived. The objections are inconclusive.

The advantages, however, are considerable. Notice what this interpretation does to the "rhetoric" of the passage, the balance between the μέν and δέ clauses. Verrall pointed out that, on the usual interpretation, the first sentence (πρὶν μέν), expressing Andromache's hope that her child might live, naturally leads one to expect (in the δέ clause) a reference to his present danger. But that is not mentioned until 47, and even then only as a remote possibility.¹⁹ We may go further. Even if the hope referred to is not that the child shall live but some other hope, the only contrast, on the usual view, between the μέν and δέ clauses is "Formerly I had hope, but (now it has gone a-glimmering, for) since my master married, I am persecuted." This is possible, of course, but weak: the entire second term of the contrast needs to be supplied.

But on the new interpretation, the contrast between then and now is both real and exact. Neoptolemus, as father of her child, had been the object of Andromache's hope; now he has become the author of her misfortune. Andromache's hope was for the well-being and continuance of her own line; but this very hope now supplies Hermione with a colorable pretext for her accusation that Andromache is trying to take over *this* house. (Note again the emphatic position of the demonstrative in 35.) The particles are now doing the work which they were meant to do.

If we no longer imagine Andromache hating her master to the end and gritting her teeth in his bed, that is small loss.²⁰ We have instead a

¹⁹ P. 267. Verrall also pointed out that κακῶν must be a scribal conjecture. What he made of the reading δόμων is ingenious but unconvincing.

²⁰ The notion that Andromache hates Neoptolemus is often confidently assumed. One critic even wants to read this hatred into the play's exodus, where she says not a word, and where her very presence has been doubted. When she does speak on the subject, we get a rather different picture. Cf. 269 and 416-418.

picture which corresponds to the way slavery and concubinage are represented in epic and tragedy, and one that makes sense of the text.

(2) "When Neoptolemus married Hermione, Andromache ceased to be his concubine." What could be more natural? asks the modern reader. The answer — for a Greek of the fifth century — is "almost anything." Concubinage, whether in contemporary life or in the heroic world of poetry, was an accepted fact. The relation of *παλλακή* was legally recognized and socially condoned. It is hard to find any trace of stigma against the practice. And much suggests an attitude of complete acceptance. The author of the *In Neaeram*, at any rate, assumes (Dem. 59.122) that the hetaira, the concubine, and the wife all have their place in a man's life. None of his audience apparently regarded him as cynical. Xenophon's Ischomachus (*Oec.* 10.12) in the presence of his wife, for whom he clearly has much affection, speaks quite openly of bedding his slaves, though he says that if his wife uses few cosmetics and dresses nicely he would prefer her. And Plato's Athenian Stranger (*Lg.* 841c-d) regards strict monogamy for men as an ideal realizable only in fable.²¹

Turning to the poets, we get the same impression. Homer's Agamemnon clearly expects his wife to put up with Chryseis, and in Aeschylus he anticipates no trouble about Cassandra. And with a normal wife and under normal circumstances, those expectations would have been

²¹ My concern here is not with the many controversial aspects of the status of women but with facts which no one, as far as I know, disputes. There was clearly a vast difference between infidelity of the wife to the husband and infidelity of the husband to the wife. The former was called *μοιχεία*, the latter had no name. The former entailed disastrous legal and social consequences, the latter hardly any. (Diogenes Laertius 4.17 appears to give the sole exception. He says that Polemo's wife proceeded at law against her husband *ὡς μειρακίοις συνόντα*, but both details and outcome are obscure.) In certain circumstances, the law extended the same protection to the relation of concubine as to that of lawful wife. (Cf. Dem. 23.53-56 and Lys. 1.31.) In any case, it is evident that Greek custom did not enjoin strict fidelity on a man after his marriage any more than abstinence before it. How frequent the practice of concubinage was, we cannot say; but the way it is mentioned in the orators suggests that it required no apology. (See, for example, Antiphon 1 and Dem. 39 and 40.)

This is not to say that some women did not earnestly wish that their husbands would be content with a single mate. In our play, this is certainly true of Hermione (177-180). The chorus deprecate "double marriages" (465 ff). So does Orestes (909) if that is his real opinion (which one may well doubt). And probably some women managed by moral suasion to make their husbands reasonably faithful. There is no reason, however, to think that a wife in fifth-century Athens would have any recourse against her husband if he took a concubine much less if she married a man, like Neoptolemus, who already had one.

correct.²² The case of Theano, wife of Antenor (*E* 70), who nursed her husband's bastards, is noteworthy only for the compliance of the wife, not for the delinquency of the husband. When Medea addresses the chorus on the subject of the lot of women and enumerates the troubles and inconveniences — such as dowry and childbirth — that beset all women, she does not *complain* of infidelity by the husband, but assumes it as normal (244–245).²³ Her only complaint is that this is a release denied to women. And when Laertes does *not* touch his slave Eurycleia (α 433), that calls for special comment.

Whence then comes the assumption that Neoptolemus was (by Greek standards) so quixotically chivalrous to Hermione? It comes from a misunderstanding of two passages. One of them has a textual problem, which now requires our attention.

Suspicion has fallen on 38 (see apparatus). Méridier, following Nauck, brackets it for the following reasons: “Ce vers, redite traînante du v. 36, dénature la suite des idées. *Τάδε* (37) se rapporte à *νῦν δ' ἐκλέλοιπα*, et non à ce qui suit. Ce qu'atteste solennellement Andromaque, c'est qu'elle ne partage plus la couche du maître depuis son mariage avec Hermione.”

These grounds are inconclusive. There is no reason why *τάδε* must look backwards rather than forwards: the prospective use, in fact, is more common.²⁴ And there is no reason why Andromache should not repeat, with an oath for emphasis, what she has already said. Line 38 should stay. It calls on Zeus to witness her innocence of Hermione's charge of ambition.

The real problem here is the meaning of *νῦν δ' ἐκλέλοιπα*. Can it possibly be construed to mean “I have not shared his bed since his marriage with Hermione”? It is highly unlikely that any member of Euripides' audience would have been tempted for a moment to understand it so. For under the conditions of slavery which they all assumed, a slave-woman does not “abandon the master's couch.” Such an expression implies too active a role for her. Any abandoning (in this sense) is done by the master. And he may change his mind at any time. This

²² Aeschylus clearly regards wifely jealousy as a subsidiary motive for Agamemnon's murder, insufficient in itself. He lays a great deal more stress on the sacrifice of Iphigenia and also adds Aegisthus' hatred as further incentive. Clytaemnestra's crime is only to a small extent motivated by sexual wrongs, though an orator may choose to ignore that fact for his purposes. (Cf. Antiphon 1.17.) In any case, she would have had no recourse short of violence.

²³ See Page, ad loc., who shows that 246 is a schoolmaster's attempt to bowdlerize the preceding lines.

²⁴ Cf. Kühner-Gerth I 646.

fact could be illustrated not only from Greek literature but also from the memoirs of ex-slaves in our own country.

The scholiast, who still retained some sense for these things, was clearly troubled. He too thought Andromache meant she was no longer Neoptolemus' concubine, but he sensed the absurdity of the active verb in this connection and wanted to change it into a quasipassive: ἐκλέλοιπα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀντὶ τοῦ κατελείφθην. He could have quieted his misgiving at much smaller cost to grammar if he had thought the matter through. He need only have paid attention to the adverb and the tense of the verb. In fairness to him, though, we should note that most modern commentators have done no better. As far as I know, only Domenico Bassi, in his school edition of the play, sees the answer. He writes "ἐκλέλοιπα (bada al valore del perfetto) cercando ricovero nel santuario di Tetide." Both νῦν and the perfect tense point not to an act in the remote past (several years ago) but to the present or recent past. And so the phrase would most naturally mean "and (just) now (as you see) I have left it (to take refuge here)." The theory that Neoptolemus was a *vir unius feminae* after his marriage thus receives no confirmation from this passage. Indeed, the fact that Andromache has only now left his bed is evidence on the other side.²⁵

The other passage in question is line 30, where it might be claimed that παρώσας shows that he no longer slept with her. That is not true. To shove a thing aside is not necessarily to renounce it forever.²⁶ Neoptolemus considered a slave's bed inadequate by itself. Nothing in Greek custom would have prevented him from returning to it for diversion whenever he chose, or even sleeping exclusively with his slave if his wife proved unsatisfactory.

One further consideration on this point suggests itself when we ask what is meant by a δοῦλον λέχος and why Neoptolemus should disdain

²⁵ What purpose would Andromache have in asserting what all can see? And why should οὐχ ἔκοῦσ' ἐδεξάμην and ἐκλέλοιπα be uttered in the same breath? The answer seems to be that both tend to show the falsity of Hermione's charges of ambition. She did not seek Neoptolemus' attentions in the first place, and now she has even left the palace: so far is she from contesting Hermione's claim to her husband. Both thus tend to show ὡς οὐχ ἔκοῦσα τῷδ' ἐκοινώθην λέχει. This phrase is not a "redite traînante" as Méridier thinks, but a summary of both of her preceding statements.

It should also be noted, as further confirmation that Andromache is her master's concubine, that the antecedent of αἱ in 36 is λέκτρα τὰ κεῖνῃς in 35. The bed Andromache has now left is the one that belongs by law to Hermione.

²⁶ Cf. *El.* 1035 ff. There to "shove aside" Clytaemnestra's bed means to take a mistress.

it. The usual view apparently is that he woke up one morning with a feeling of revulsion at the idea of having intercourse with a slave. He decided to renounce such practices forever and to embrace strict monogamy. If this is unconvincing, then we might reflect that in a prologue where children and heirs come in for notice every tenth line, and in an immediate context where Neoptolemus' son has just been mentioned, δοῦλον λέχος is very likely to mean more than intercourse. The only reason he "shoved aside" Andromache's bed is that he wanted children by a free woman, legitimate heirs. But he certainly did not need to be monogamous to do that.

Anyone who is still in doubt about the sleeping arrangements in the palace at Phthia should read the rest of the play and see how much has to be explained away. Hermione, of course, taxes Andromache (170-173) with sleeping with the son of her husband's murderer,²⁷ but some will put that down to malicious invention. The chorus assume that she is in fact Neoptolemus' bedfellow (123, 182, 464-470), but they could be misinformed. (In real life, of course, a group of commoners might well be ignorant of affairs in the palace. On the Greek stage, though, would there be any point in having a chorus that not only does not know the facts but actively dispenses misinformation?) Andromache replies to the charge of drugs in two places (205-208 and 355-360), but says not a word in reply to this accusation. This might, if necessary, be regarded as disdainful silence on a subject she considers *infra dignitatem*. But what are we to say when she asks Hermione (215-218) what she would do in Thrace where the king has *many* wives and shares his bed with them all by turns? What is the point of the charge (227-228) that Hermione is overpossessive? And finally, if she is not her master's concubine, why does she recommend to Hermione (222-226) the wifely compliance she herself showed to Hector, caring solicitously for his mistresses and suckling his bastards? The theory of the monogamous Neoptolemus requires considerable resoluteness in its defenders.²⁸

²⁷ Cf. also 239 with 240, and 932-935.

²⁸ See also 350-351, 390, and 403. The first of these, as I show below, is part of an interpolation, but is evidence of how things appeared to the *epigoni*.

It should also be noted that on the usual view of the situation, it is impossible to account satisfactorily for Hermione's persecution of Andromache. If Andromache is not Neoptolemus' concubine, and if Hermione therefore has no good reason to think that she is — can she be mistaken about what goes on in her own palace? — we must ask why she should want to kill her. The only person who raises this question, Keith M. Aldrich, *The Andromache of Euripides* (Lincoln, Nebraska 1961) 29-31, comes to the conclusion that she is slightly unhinged. He invents some subtle psychology to explain how she got that way. She is jealous of

(3) Not much is said in the prologue about the childlessness of Hermione, but that subject needs to be discussed since it is closely related to the foregoing problems. The real situation, as it emerges from the play, is that Hermione suffers not from sterility but from neglect.²⁹ She has no children because Neoptolemus does not care to sleep with her. She does not really imagine that her charge of drugs is true. It is merely a way of justifying her persecution of the woman with whom she knows her husband shares his bed.

It requires no audience of Verrallians to figure this out. It is plain that Hermione herself does not regard herself as sterile. She admits as much to Orestes in her remorse (938-942):

τί γάρ μ' ἐχρῆν
πόσιν φυλάσσειν, ἥ παρῆν ὄσων ἔδει;
πολὺς μὲν ὄλβος· δωμάτων δ' ἡγάσσομεν·
παῖδας δ' ἐγὼ μὲν γνησίους ἔτικτον ἄν,
ἥ δ' ἡμιδούλους τοῖς ἐμοῖς νοθαγενεῖς.

If she acknowledges that by acting differently³⁰ she could have had children, it is clear that her "sterility" is not an organic condition. And there are four earlier references, two of them from Hermione herself, to Neoptolemus' hatred of her (cf. 33, 157, 205, 212). Entities should not be unnecessarily multiplied, and it is uneconomical to assume that Hermione is sterile as well as heartily disliked by her husband. The latter fact is sufficient explanation for her condition. And it is the explanation that is assumed throughout the play. No one believes in Hermione's sterility.³¹

her husband's former relationship and cannot endure the thought of Neoptolemus' ever having slept with anyone else. This, combined with her inability to conceive, saps at her reason, and she strikes out at the helpless slave. The absurdity of this conclusion implies the absurdity of its premises. (For a good critique of the attempt to "psychologize" Euripidean drama, see H. D. F. Kitto, *Form and Meaning in Drama* (London 1964) 213-214.)

²⁹ Three people seem to have seen this: Burnett, p. 135, and Méridier and Garzya, *ad v.* 941.

³⁰ Note that in πόσιν φυλάσσειν we have the motif of overpossessiveness again. Cf. 227-228.

³¹ In fact, only one person — aside from Hermione herself — makes comments we might interpret as confirmation of Hermione's sterility: in 709 ff Peleus calls her a sterile heifer. Aside from this passage, no one takes Hermione's complaint seriously. In the first episode, Andromache does not consider the idea: Hermione's trouble lies in her behavior (205-212). Sterility is not an issue in the episode between Andromache and Menelaus. Andromache names her real offense

As it turns out, even Hermione's official accusation is a bit ambiguous. It has generally been assumed that, whatever the actual facts were, Hermione at least charged Andromache with poisoning her to make her sterile. But the charge seems to waver a bit.

As there is more than one way for Hermione to be childless in fact, so there is more than one way for her to charge a slave — rival for her husband's love — with rendering her childless by means of drugs. She can claim an organic difficulty, and charge that the slave has given her drugs which cause miscarriage.³² The language of 355–356, where Andromache summarizes Hermione's charge, seems to bear this out.

ἤμεις γὰρ εἰ σὴν παῖδα φαρμακεύομεν
καὶ νηδὺν ἐξαμβλοῦμεν, ὥς αὐτὴ λέγει, κτλ.³³

On the other hand, the fact of neglect can easily be turned into the charge of alienation of affections by means of love-philtres. This accusation is, of course, closer to the facts. Hermione does not try to deny that her husband loathes her. It is also undeniable — and no one in the play denies — that the master sleeps with the slave. An accusation can be produced from this state of affairs by asserting that it is the result of magical arts, used against the master in order to deprive him and his wife of legitimate heirs. Hermione's own words in 157–158 give some support to this version.

στυγοῦμαι δ' ἀνδρὶ φαρμάκοισι σοῖς,
νηδὺς δ' ἀκύμων διὰ σέ μοι διόλλυται.

From 157 it would seem that the drugs in question are alleged to be

in 390–393, and Menelaus' ὑβρίζειν (434) surely refers to this same offense. When Menelaus argues with Peleus in the third episode, it is again to this same offense that he refers (657–661). And in the fourth episode, Orestes, who knows perfectly well what is going on (cf. 957 ff) frames his questions to Hermione in such a way that she has no chance to talk about sterility. (She also makes no attempt to do so.) In view of this, we need not take Peleus' words *au pied de la lettre*. Hermione is an inadequate wife, and she has no children. She is as much use as a sterile heifer. Peleus has certainly not committed himself to a medical diagnosis or ruled out Neoptolemus' dislike as the real cause of Hermione's childlessness.

³² In theory the drugs in question might have been contraceptive rather than abortive. Cf. Soranus, *Gyn.* 1.60 for this distinction. For drugs that produce miscarriage, cf. Galen 17.1.799 (*Medicorum Graecorum Opera*, ed. Kühn [Leipzig 1842]) and Dioscurides 1.88.

³³ Note that ἐξαμβλόω is the *vox propria* for causing miscarriage. Cf. *Ar. Nub.* 137–139.

operating directly on the mind of Neoptolemus: their effect on the body of Hermione is indirect.³⁴ Neoptolemus' hatred comes first, while Hermione's childlessness follows as a consequent.

Andromache understands the charge in precisely this way and replies to the princess accordingly. Your husband dislikes you, she says in 205–208, but that is due to natural causes, not to love potions. The only *φίλτρα* involved, she says in 207, are the wifely virtues Hermione so conspicuously lacks and which she could learn from her slave.

Their stichomythy tells the same story. When Hermione says "You *speak* no evil, but do it to me with all your might," Andromache replies, "Still going on about injuries to your love-life?" Instead of replying that her charge is far more serious, Hermione accepts this as a description of Andromache's "injuries" to her: they consist in depriving her of her husband's attentions.³⁵

The implication of these passages contradicts that of 355–356. It seems safest to conclude that the official charge is as stated there, but that in the heat of argument it assumes a form closer to the facts. This new form also lies closer to the emotional center of Hermione's life. We nowhere see any evidence in her of a burning desire for children. Instead, we see only how highly she values the Cyprian. She is, after all, Helen's daughter.³⁶

192–204

195

εἴπ', ὦ νεᾶνι, τῷ σ' ἐχεγγύω λόγῳ
 πεισθεῖς ἀπωθῶ γνησίων νυμφευμάτων;
 ὥς ἡ Λάκαινα τῶν Φρυγῶν μείων πόλις,
 τύχη θ' ὑπερθεῖ, καὶ μ' ἐλευθέραν ὄρᾳς;
 ἢ τῷ νέῳ τε καὶ σφριγῶντι σώματι
 πόλεως τε μεγέθει καὶ φίλοις ἐπηρμένῃ
 οἶκον κατασχεῖν τὸν σὸν ἀντὶ σοῦ θέλω;
 πότερον ἴν' αὐτῇ παῖδας ἀντὶ σοῦ τέκω

³⁴ For the view that the womb suffers damage by being left empty (and thereby produces the *hysterica passio*), see Pl. *Tim.* 91c, Arist. *De Gen. Anim.* 719a20, Soranus *Gyn.* 1. 31, 3–4, and Galen 7.425 and 16.179.

³⁵ It is to the charge of deliberately depriving Hermione of her conjugal rights that Andromache replies in 192–204. See below for a discussion of the text of that passage.

³⁶ For Hermione's attitude toward sex, see 215–221, 229, and 241. Her father shares her values (cf. 370 ff) and waged the Trojan war *Veneris causa*. Helen, too, is constantly kept before our eyes. Cf. 229–231, 248, 362–363, 602–609, and 898–899.

200 δούλους ἐμαυτῇ τ' ἀθλίαν ἐφορκίδα;
 ἢ τοὺς ἐμούς τις παῖδας ἐξανέξεται
 Φθίας τυράννους ὄντας ἦν σὺ μὴ τέκης;
 φιλοῦσαι γάρ μ' Ἑλληνες Ἑκτορός τ' ἄπο;
 αὐτὴ τ' ἀμαυρὰ κοῦ τύραννος ἦ Φρυγῶν;
 195 τύχη B

Andromache is attempting to demonstrate to Hermione how absurd it is for the Spartan princess to charge a Trojan slave with using drugs to destroy her marriage to Neoptolemus. The passage contains a pair of verses which have thus far successfully resisted emendation, in spite of a fair amount of scholarly attention. It also contains other difficulties which have not, so far as I know, been given any attention at all. The *lapides offensionis* are six.

(1) Lines 194–195 can be made to yield sense only if the hearer is prepared to perform prodigies of mental “subaudition.” For if we read *τύχη* in 195 with most of the manuscripts and the scholiast, we must supply “Troy” as the subject of *ὑπερθεῖ*, most unnaturally, since Sparta was the subject of the previous clause.

If we read *τύχη* with B, as Hermann and Paley do, we are scarcely better off, for then we must supply *ἡ ἐμὴ* in a context which does little to make this easy. (Contrast *Andr.* 126 where the reference is unmistakable.) We must also apply *σε*, or rather *τὴν σὴν*, another harsh ellipsis.

The only remotely plausible reading of the tradition as it stands is that of Murray, who construes *ὑπερθεῖ* as the second person singular of the passive. But apart from the awkwardness of a passive here, it does not appear that *θέω* or any of its compounds is used in the passive voice.³⁷

The emendations proposed are of two kinds: those that are good Greek but paleographically unlikely, and those that are paleographically neat but in one respect or another barbarous. Dindorf merely rewrites, and produces admirable Greek sense: *ὡς τῆς Λακαίνης ἡ Φρυγῶν μείζων πόλις*. The connection with 195 is thus easy. It is hard to see, though, why a scribe should read this and write what appears in our manuscripts. The conjecture assumes an original misreading of *μείζων* as *μείων*, an unlikely supposition since the former is by far the commoner word. Then, we infer, a later hand “corrects” it, not by supplying a

³⁷ The verbal indices of Kühner-Blass and Smyth, the entries in LSJ, and Veitsch's *Greek Verbs Irregular and Defective* provide no form of *θέω* or its compounds in the passive.

solitary and all but inevitable *zeta* but by changing the case endings of three other words. None of this inspires much confidence.

Where paleography is satisfied, good sense is not, and troubles which afflicted the tradition continue, like some retrograde family curse, to dog its supposed ancestors. Thus Lenting's *τύχη θ' ὑπερθεῖ τᾶμ' ἐλευθέραν θ' ὀρᾶς* is a speaking likeness of our manuscripts. But the mental acrobatics begin once more, *τὰ σά* being needed as object for *ὑπερθεῖ* and *με* for *ὀρᾶς*. It is alleged that this latter is easy since *τᾶμά* is the same as *ἐγώ*. But that is not true. The full equivalence of these two expressions is a legal fiction enacted for the benefit of students doing Greek verse composition. The reality is otherwise.³⁸ *τύχη θ' ὑπερθεῖ τᾶμά* should mean "and do my fortunes surpass (yours)?" The ellipsis of *με* in the next clause is in no way made more natural.

Another piece of quite neat paleographical procedure gives us Stevens's *τύχη θ' ὑπερθεν τᾶμ' ἐλευθέρων ὀρᾶς* (B in fact has *ἐλεύθερον*). Stevens sensibly comments that since 194 has compared Troy and Sparta, 195 should be a comparison of personal fortunes, and his line, like Lenting's, is an attempt to produce the required meaning. But it is a sentence no Greek could have spoken or understood. He translates "and do you regard me, a slave, as superior in fortune to those that are free (i.e., yourself)?" This involves taking *ὑπερθεν* (a) in an unusual sense, "superior to"; (b) as the predicate of an understood *ὄντα*; and (c) defined, as if it were an adjective, by a highly suspicious dative of respect. Its supposed *regimen* *ἐλευθέρων* is (a) a brachylogy for *ἢ τὰ τῶν ἐλευθέρων* (not even the *τῶν* is there to help); and (b) removed from its supposed *regens* by hyperbaton. Any three of these ills would cast grave doubt on a well-attested manuscript reading: in a conjecture, the conjunction of five is necessarily fatal.

That is the current state of our first problem.

(2) In 197 *πόλεως τε μεγέθει* seems to duplicate the argument of 194. This fact prompted Brunck to make, and Méridier to accept, the conjecture *πλούτου* for *πόλεως*. "Size or greatness of wealth" is an odd phrase. The most one could say for it is that it is certainly better than *κάλλους* (Reiske), *πόρων* (Lenting), or *πάσεως* (Housman).

³⁸ Kühner-Gerth I 267, Anm. 2, say that in both tragedy and prose this periphrasis is used "wenn nämlich nicht die Person allein, sondern ihr Wesen oder das, was gleichsam in die Sphäre derselben gehört, verstanden werden soll." The examples they give are from Plato and Herodotus. Here are some from Euripides: *Alc.* 1138; *Med.* 739; *Held.* 1016; *Andr.* 235; *HF* 165; *Ion* 615, 1290, 1397; *IT* 985, 1057, 1195; *Hel.* 893, 1194, 1637; *Pho.* 775, 995; *Or.* 296, 1088, 1613; *IA* 483. In all of these cases, the above formulation holds.

(3) When *πότερον* and *ἤ* stand at the head of two successive questions, the two questions pose a pair of alternatives between which the respondent is to choose. In our passage, however, it is difficult to see that the two words function this way. Lines 199–200 ask “(Is it) in order to bear slave children, a wretched burden to myself?” The introductory *πότερον* suggests that Hermione will be given another and equally absurd motive to charge Andromache with, e.g., “Or (is it) so that I might be the envy of all my fellow-slaves?” Instead, we get the question “Or will people put up with my children as the Phthian royal family if you have no children?” This is a parallel only if we are willing to say that the couplet is the equivalent of “Or (is it) in order to bear royal children?” But this is forced.

Formally there is no parallelism at all. The first couplet is a purpose clause, the second a future indicative; the first is an imagined purpose of Andromache, the second the imagined reaction of the Phthians. Anyone who thinks that 199 f and 201 f pose a pair of alternatives, and that Euripides could have written them as they stand, is invited to find — in Euripides or elsewhere — a similar pair.³⁹

(4) Not only is there no parallelism, but the argument is irrational. For if Andromache is attempting to explore — for its latent absurdities — the supposition that she is trying to oust Hermione and take her place, then she must come up with likely consequences of that supposition which are clearly undesirable. (That is the point of the last four words of 200.⁴⁰) But as our manuscripts stand, she has failed. For if she succeeds in ousting Hermione and becoming *de facto* mistress of the palace (and this is the supposition she is considering), the children she bears to Neoptolemus, while still illegitimate, will be Neoptolemus’ only

³⁹ In order to be satisfied that this usage is not Euripidean, the reader may use the following list, transcribed from Allen and Italie and rearranged for ease of consultation, of all the uses of *πότερον* or *πότερα* in Euripides: *Alc.* 80, 520, 675, 1051; *Med.* 378, 502, 697; *Hip.* 276, 516; *Andr.* 316, 345; *Hec.* 260, 315, 488, 737, 876, 1202; *Sup.* 687; *HF.* 1378; *Ion* 301, 695, 778; *Tro.* 64, 978; *El.* 653; *IT.* 97, 497, 883; *Hel.* 341, 467, 915, 1009 (sic), 1083, 1190; *Pho.* 560, 1310; *Or.* 403, 863, 886, 1576; *Ba.* 469, 668, 941; *Rh.* 630; *Fr.* 282.19, 552, 1036; *Hy.* 1.2.16 (Italie = Bond, p. 26, l.18).

Of these, four (*Andr.* 345, *Ion* 695, and *IT.* 497 and 883) are *πότερον* without correlative *ἤ*. (See Kühner-Gerth II 532, Anm. 10; the *ἤ* in *Andr.* 347 connects the two questions on either side of it.) The rest of the cases all exhibit pairs of words, clauses, or sentences that are parallel in construction and meaning. Italie’s *Index Aeschyleus* reveals the same state of affairs for Aeschylus.

⁴⁰ These putative children must be both dependent on her and a source of wretchedness to her. And for a mere slave, this is certainly the case. These words are a clear reference to Molossus, who has already needed to be hidden and will soon be used as a hostage against her. Cf. 395.

heirs. Far from being a source of misery to her, they will enhance her position. The likely consequences of the supposition are far from undesirable.

(5) Consider too the natural meaning of *πότερον ἵνα*. When the accused in a judicial or quasi-judicial setting asks "Was it in order to gain such and such that I did it?" he is suggesting — in order to rebut — an answer to the prior question, "What motive could I have had in doing what I am charged with?" That is the antecedent question in our passage too; it is not explicitly stated immediately before it but is easily supplied, and indeed must be if *πότερον ἵνα* is to make sense.

Yet that is precisely the question Andromache's case can ill afford to ask at this point. She has just been talking about the supposition of rising on the support of beauty, friends, and country to become mistress of the palace where she is now a slave (196–198). That, in fact, is the very thing Hermione charges her with attempting to do. (Cf. 32–35 and 155–157; of course she omits any reference to nonexistent support.) Can Andromache raise, at this juncture, the question "What motive could I have for doing this?" The reply would be swift and inevitable. It is quite proper for Creon, who stands next to the throne, to argue to Oedipus that he would have no motive to seize it.⁴¹ That is an argument *ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων*. But if Andromache so much as suggests the question, "What motive could I, a slave, have for wanting to become queen?" it is an understatement to say that the argument has no force. She has, in fact, left off defending herself and has gone over to the prosecution. The fact that she can only think of stupid motives for becoming queen — like bearing slave-children — does not help matters in the slightest.

There is only one way to make this supportable. We must assume that Andromache's argument at this point is a completely new departure and makes a second attempt to answer 192–193 without any reference to the intervening lines. "Why should I deprive you of your husband's embraces? . . . It must be to have more slave children, forsooth." This is logically sound, but hard in our context. For in the space where the dots stand in my translation, five lines stand in our manuscripts. And all but the first two of these are concerned explicitly with the supposition that Andromache is trying to usurp Hermione's place. That is the main charge, after all, and will still be fresh in our minds. It is hard to forget it.⁴²

⁴¹ S. OT. 584 ff.

⁴² Another way of putting this objection is to say that the argument meanders from the supposition of Andromache as queen (196–198) to that of Andromache as slave (199 f) and back to that of Andromache as queen again (201 ff).

(6) Lines 198 and 199 end in *ἀντὶ σοῦ θέλω* and *ἀντὶ σοῦ τέκω* respectively. Here are five pairs of syllables, of which three are exactly the same while the remaining two differ by one letter each. They stand at the end of two successive lines, not in stichomythy, and with no trace of antithesis. This is a jingle, a rhyme, an assonance (call it what you will) for which there is no parallel.⁴³

The solution to all these difficulties appears when we ask ourselves two questions: At what point in her speech can Andromache use the argument from absence of motive? At what point can she plausibly speak of slave-children who will be a wretched burden to herself? The answer to both is the same, and it involves the simple transposition of two lines. The original order of the lines, I suggest, was as follows:

	εἴπ', ὦ νεᾶνι, τῷ σ' ἐχεγγύω λόγῳ
193	πεισθεῖς' ἀπωθῶ γνησίων νυμφευμάτων;
199	πότερον ἴν' αὐτῇ παῖδας ἀντὶ σοῦ τέκω
200	δούλους ἐμαυτῇ τ' ἀθλίαν ἐφολκίδα;
196	ἢ τῷ νέῳ τε καὶ σφριγῶντι σώματι
	πόλεως τε μεγέθει, καὶ φίλοις ἐπηρμένη
	οἶκον κατασχεῖν τὸν σὸν ἀντὶ σοῦ θέλω;
	ἢ τοὺς ἐμούς τις παῖδας ἐξανέξεται
	Φθίας τυράννους ὄντας, ἣν σὺ μὴ τέκης;
	φιλοῦσι γάρ μ' Ἑλληνες Ἑκτορός τ' ἄπο . . .
	αὐτῇ τ' ἀμαυρὰ κοῦ τύραννος ἢ Φρυγῶν;

Here is an argument that requires no straining after forced parallelism, no large backward leaps, and no apologies, an argument *ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων* that is logical. "Tell me, young woman, by what plausible line of reasoning have I been persuaded to deprive you [by drugs] of your husband's lawful embraces? Is it in order to bear children myself in your stead, slaves themselves and a wretched burden to me?" The question that is logically anterior to *πότερον ἴνα* is now expressed in 192-193: "What could be my motive?" Its answer is in two parts, as

⁴³ Euripides does use assonance at line-end to point up an antithesis, e.g., *Pho.* 1478 f. But there is no antithesis in our passage between *θέλω* and *τέκω*. Other examples of terminal assonance given by Eduard Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa* I 28 ff and II 832 ff, either involve a strong antithesis (usually marked by *μέν* and *δέ*) as in *Med.* 408 f, *Andr.* 689 f, *Hec.* 1250 f, or involve no more than two syllables, as in *Med.* 314-315 and *Alc.* 782 ff. (Note that *Andr.* 689 f also involves no more than two.) We may surmise that with no antithesis in view such an assonance would be merely annoying to Greek ears. *Alc.* 782 ff is the closest Euripides comes — except for our passage — to gratuitous jingle.

πότερον leads us to expect. In the first part, before the idea of becoming mistress of the palace is even mentioned, she suggests the motive with the highest degree of absurdity: she wants to make Neoptolemus dislike Hermione so that he will come to her own slave-bed and beget more slave-children upon her. The situation presupposed is the present one, where Neoptolemus has a wife and the prospect of legitimate children. In such circumstances, the attempt to have children by Neoptolemus is absurd, for it holds no prospect of bettering her lot. (The child she has is clearly doing her no good.) The reference to slave-children and the incredulous question both make sense only here, *before* she raises and tries to answer the main charge of usurpation. Thereafter they only stultify the argument to which they were intended to contribute.

"Or is it that, relying on youthful beauty, the greatness of my city, and my family connections (φίλοις), I wish to take over your (royal) house and replace you?" ἤ introduces the second absurd supposition, this one, in fact, the real charge. The first suggested motive was absurd because undesirable, the second is absurd because impossible, as its first two lines are intended to show. But both are motives, parallel answers to 192 f, the purpose clause in the first being answered by the verb θέλω in the second.

Lines 201 f expatiate further on the absurdities in the previous three lines. "Or will people accept *my* sons as the royal family if you have none? Yes, for the Greeks are my dear friends . . ." ⁴⁴ The words τοὺς ἐμούς are in their most emphatic position, first in the sentence and separated from their noun by hyperbaton. The emphasis is thus on the children's mother, and the absurdity of installing a slave in the royal chambers and making her sons the Phthian heirs apparent. People would accept this arrangement, she says sarcastically in 203, because of my connection with those whom they have so much reason to love. ⁴⁵

⁴⁴ If we read ἤ in 201 with the manuscripts, and retain Murray's question mark, the lines are an alternative way of asking the question about usurpation already posed in 196–198. It is also possible to read ἤ (surely) with full stop, an ironical statement. (For ἤ *affirmativum* used in ironical or sarcastic sentences, cf. S. *Aj.* 1008; E. *Tr.* 383, 424; Ar. *Nub.* 167.) The scholiast (for what that is worth) says ὁ πᾶς λόγος ἐν εἰρωνείᾳ ἐστίν· ναί, φησί, βασιλεύουσιν οἱ ἐμοὶ παῖδες· φιλοῦσι γάρ με οἱ Ἕλληνες κτλ.

⁴⁵ Lines 203–204 are difficult on any showing. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the τε in line 204 does not answer the one in 203 — at least, I cannot find another example of two τε's connecting a prepositional phrase and an independent clause — and that therefore we must assume a lacuna, as Dindorf thought. The problem is not only the τε's but also the difficulty of making 204 contribute to the argument. The question "Was I obscure (or weak) myself, and was I not

When an editor can produce sense from a text where before there was nonsense merely by moving a line or two, he will usually do so even if he cannot see how the error came about. The ways of scribes are past finding out, and they cannot be expected to err by rule at all times. In this particular case, however, we can see fairly clearly how 199–200 were moved from after 193 to occupy their present place in our manuscripts. The scribe who copied this text early in our tradition finished copying our present line 200. The next line he had to copy (our 196) began with *HTΩ*. The scribe noted this, looked up for a moment, and when he resumed his work, wrote the line beginning *HTO* (201) instead. As a result 196–198 were omitted. The omission was discovered, but the lines were put back in the wrong place, before 199 rather than after 200. The ease with which the transposition can be explained provides additional confirmation for our hypothesis.⁴⁶

We have dealt so far with the last four of our six problems. The first two disappear on the assumption that 194–195 are an interpolation, and I have deleted them. This will seem like radical surgery to some, and a justification is in order.

The failure of emendation, as I have set it forth above, is not in itself, of course, sufficient cause to justify excision. The case for deleting the lines rests on four considerations, none of them conclusive by itself, but together comprising plausible grounds for suspecting that the lines are not by Euripides.

(1) We have already recovered grammar from Andromache's lines where it was lacking, easily intelligible sense where there was paradox,

princess of Troy?" does not supply a reason for Greek hatred precisely parallel to the fact of being Hector's wife. It might, of course, be supposed that Andromache means to say that as a member of the Trojan royal family, she would be the object of a hatred no common Trojan could inspire. But in the first place, this is a weak consideration in comparison with her mention of Hector, the Greeks' most redoubtable foe. And secondly, the major premise of this argument is not obvious enough to be omitted.

Her eminence as princess of Troy might, however, serve as an ironical reason for her warm reception as queen in Phthia, provided it can be disentangled from the line just before it. I offer, *exempli gratia*,

φιλοῦσι γάρ μ' Ἕλληνες Ἑκτορός τ' ἄπο
 <Πάριδός τε, κείνων τοῦ τ' ἐμοῦ κηδεύματος.>
 αὐτὴ τ' ἀμανρὰ κοῦ τύραννος ἦ Φρυγῶν;

"(I will easily become queen of Phthia.) For the Greeks love me, both for Hector's sake and for the sake of Paris, *their* relative by marriage as well as mine. And was I not glorious in my own right, and a princess of Troy?"

⁴⁶ For a similar example, see *Held*. 683–691 in Garzya's Teubner fascicle.

logical order where there was meandering, and coherent argument in place of reasoning that was unsound if not positively destructive to her case. (In the process, we removed a none too attractive assonance.) To the extent that this reconstruction is persuasive, to that extent 194–195 are suspect, for there is no place for them in the argument. If 199–200 really make sense only after 193, the new context thus formed is an argument against 194–195.

(2) The two lines in question repeat points that are explicit in 197 (the weakness of Troy) and implicit in 199 f and 201 f (Andromache's lowly status); they are therefore otiose.

(3) The lines themselves contain features which suggest the work of someone other than Euripides. (a) There is some evidence that the lines cannot be emended because they were written precisely as we have them in B. For *τύχη θ' ὑπερθεῖ* (sc. *ἡ ἐμὴ τήν σήν*), while it is an impossible ellipsis for Euripides, is quite conceivable for someone in a later age (perhaps Hellenistic, perhaps imperial) who thought that the high poetic style should be elliptical and oblique. That we are dealing with such a man is suggested by the wording of 194. Whoever wrote that line went out of his way to be backhanded. Andromache's argument requires her to show that in an attempt to take Hermione's place, she could expect no conceivable support from the city of her origin, which no longer exists. She does this, according to our manuscripts, by demonstrating (with a question that is doubly backhanded) that Sparta is a greater help to Hermione, since it is greater than nonexistent Troy. To the man who wrote this, I suggest, the ellipsis in 195 would have caused no distress.

(b) The verb *ὑπερθεῖ* is the only uncommon or poetical word in the passage, and it is worthwhile to examine it. This verb occurs — apart from our passage — twice in fifth-century literature: A. *Eu.* 562 and E. fr. 230. In both cases it is used literally of running past or ahead of something, and both are nautical metaphors. We next meet it in Plato's *Laws* (648d) where it means to outstrip. This time it is more figurative — its object is *δύναμιν* — but since the context is athletics, the literal meaning is still in view.⁴⁷ By the second century A.D., however, it appears in Pollux's *Onomasticon* as a synonym for *κρατεῖν*, *περιγίγνεσθαι*, *νικᾶν*, and the like, and the idea of running has apparently faded out completely. For Plotinus (6.9, 11, 16) it simply means surpass.

The history of this word — and admittedly our sources are scanty —

⁴⁷ The word is still a live metaphor. Note that *ὑπερθέων* is followed and expanded by *κρατῶν*.

thus suggests that a man rather later than Euripides wrote 194 f, someone closer to Pollux than to Aeschylus. For *ὑπερθεῖ* is clearly a dead metaphor to him, a mere synonym for "surpass."

(c) The lines rest on a subtle but real misreading of the two lines before them, and result in a palpable misreading of the three lines which follow. For the author of our two suspected lines takes 192–193 not as "What was my motive in deliberately depriving you of your husband's affections?" but as "What emboldened me to try to take over your position and become queen?" This is apparent from the way 194–195 are written. For the greatness of Troy, Troy's (or Andromache's) good fortune, and her freedom do not constitute motives for depriving Hermione of her husband's love. They are not *motives* at all, but "emboldenments," things which tempt someone to act on a desire he or she already has — in this case the desire to become queen.

In themselves 192–193 might well mean this. An *ἐχέγγυος λόγος* might as easily refer to an emboldenment as to a motive. But it is clear from 196–198 that it does not, for taking it as such produces nonsense. On that way of reading it, 196–198 (notice the *ῆ*) represent the second set of emboldenments, this time youth, vigor, city (again), and connections. The whole passage, then, has to be translated as follows: "Is it because Sparta is a lesser city than Troy, because my fortunes surpass yours, or because you see me a free woman? Or is it my young and vigorous body, the greatness of my city, or my family connections that embolden me to take over your house and supplant you?" This is the way all translators but one translate these lines. All but one conspire to cover up an absurdity.

That one is Louis Méridier, in the Budé series. More honest than the rest, he translates the one word which they all choose to ignore, the verb *θέλω*. "Est-ce la jeunesse d'un corps en fleur, la grandeur de mes richesses et mes amis qui m'enhardissent à vouloir te supplanter dans la maison?" The absurdity thus stands revealed to the eye by this refusal to suppress what is there. For it is nonsense to say that youth, vigor, or city — or anything at all — emboldens someone to *want* to become queen. A preference for sleeping on goose-down rather than straw can be assumed. It does not require explanation. There is no reason for *θέλω* to be there on the interpretation which is forced on us by the existence of 194–195.

Remove those lines and put 199–200 in their place, however, and *θέλω* is not only no embarrassment but is actually required by the sense. The verb now bears the main weight of the sentence. What this question now denies is the desire to take over the house. The grounds

of that denial are to be found in the futility of the attempt. It is thus the second of two parallel answers to 192–193: What motive could I have in purposely alienating your husband's affections? In order to have more wretched slave-children, perhaps? Wanted to take over the palace, no doubt? The two are parallel and use parallel constructions of volition, a purpose clause and a verb of desiring.

(4) It is possible to show that the same error which gave rise to the transposition of 199–200 also provided the temptation to interpolate. For after the text had sustained the accident that I have described above, it looked like this:

εἴπ', ὦ νεᾶνι, τῷ σ' ἐχεγγύω λόγῳ
 πεισθεῖς' ἀπωθῶ γνησίων νυμφευμάτων;
 ἢ τῷ νέῳ τε καὶ σφριγῶντι σώματι
 πόλεως τε μεγέθει καὶ φίλοις ἐπηρμένη
 οἶκον κατασχεῖν τὸν σὸν ἀντὶ σοῦ θέλω;

Anyone in antiquity who was inclined to interpolate (and that would include actors) would have a strong temptation to fill in two or three lines after 193. For as the passage stands it is hard to tolerate. "Tell me, young woman, what plausible consideration persuaded me to deprive you of your husband's embraces? Or was it my youthful and vigorous body, my city's greatness, and my friends that emboldened me to take over your house?"⁴⁸ It is obvious now, as it was obvious then, that something else once stood before that "or."⁴⁹ That word marks the sentence which it begins as the second possible way of answering 192–193. It therefore calls for a first.⁵⁰ Anyone who wanted — whether for acting purposes or otherwise — to have a copy of the play that read smoothly and without obvious gaps would thus have a motive to write 194 f. Nothing about these lines, as we have seen, suggests the work of

⁴⁸ As I have shown above, the context shows that whoever wrote 194–195 understood 192–198 in this way.

⁴⁹ ἢ cannot mean "either" as the context shows. The use of ἢ to mean *utrum* in double questions is not a feature of the spoken language, being confined to epic. Our manuscripts give us five examples of it in tragedy and one in Xenophon. None is certainly right. See Page at *Med.* 493, Jebb at *OC.* 80, and Kühner-Gerth II 530 sq. In any case, there is no second ἢ to make this a plausible reading, that in 201 being clearly unsuitable.

⁵⁰ The only other way to make sense of the ἢ is to treat 196–198 not as an alternative way of answering, but as an alternative way of putting, the question in 192–193. But that has little attractiveness about it since they are not sufficiently parallel.

a major fifth-century poet. The fact that they are repetitious suggests someone without a great deal of imagination.

The case for rearrangement and excision is now as complete as I can make it. On the one side, Andromache's speech as it stands in our manuscripts is very peculiar: it repeats itself; some of the words do not function properly, according to what we know of Greek grammar; it contains an unparalleled *homoioteleuton*; the argument moves from the supposition of Andromache the queen, to that of Andromache the slave, and back again to Andromache the queen all in the space of seven lines; and in the process, it makes arguments that are nonsense at best, or favorable to her accuser at worst. On the other side is a version where grammar, sense, and argumentation are all faultless, and reveal more sense than anyone ever guessed was there.

In order to get from one to the other, it is necessary to assume one accident (which, in this case, we can account for better than such things are usually accounted for) and an interpolation. This latter, I have tried to show, is not an independent mishap but a direct result of the first. It remains for editors of the future to decide whether this supposition exacts too high a price for the clarity it provides. In my judgment it does not. Indeed, it is the contrary hypothesis — that the occurrence of all these improvements together is coincidental — which would seem to require the greater credulity.

319–363

Menelaus, it will be recalled,⁵¹ enters with his retinue immediately after the first stasimon, bringing with him Andromache's son Molossus. He wastes no time announcing that unless Andromache leaves the altar of Thetis and surrenders at discretion, he will kill the boy.

Andromache's first reaction to the news (319–329) is not fear or chagrin but utter contempt for the pettiness of a man, once conqueror of Troy, who would stoop to match wits and strength with a slave-woman at a word from his mere child of a daughter. Whatever sins of rhetorical bombast and unnaturalness these lines commit (and it is hard, for us at least, not to wince at ὦ δόξα δόξα) they clearly succeed in pointing up the inadequacy of Menelaus' actions, judged not by standards of utility or even of justice in the usual sense, but of dignity, propriety, and due proportion. There are some things the world's great simply do not do.

⁵¹ For the *lemma* of this discussion, the reader is referred to Murray's Oxford text.

Up to this point, the text calls for little comment, except that Hirzel's *ΑΕΙΩ ΓΩ*, an easy correction for *ΑΕΙΩΣΩ* (323), eliminates an unwanted future tense. We may safely bracket 330–332 with Murray as a Menandrian parallel that has crept, by accident or design, into our texts. Thereafter, we find ourselves in the midst of various difficulties of grammar, meter, logic, and style whose gravity, in every individual instance, will be variously judged, but whose collective weight is sufficient, in my judgment, to support the hypothesis of interpolation. The points in these lines that excite suspicion are the following:

(1) Line 333 has several odd features. The vocative, as Stevens notes, seems rather abrupt at this juncture. The phrase *φέρει δῆ* is not found elsewhere in tragedy. And the number of resolved feet is large for a play of this period. Wilamowitz regarded it as an interpolation and preferred to write *εἶεν* in its place.

(2) Since *Andromache* is very much alive, and since the next lines refer only to the supposition of her death, we must translate *τέθνηκα τῇ σῇ θυγατρὶ* as "Suppose I have died at your daughter's hand." To express this kind of imaginary realization, however, Greek requires *καὶ δῆ*. (See *Med.* 386, *Hel.* 1059; *A. Cho.* 565, *Eu.* 894, and the other examples in Denniston, p. 253.) No examples have been produced without *καὶ δῆ* nor any with *δῆ* alone, a fact which tells against Reiske's *δῆ σῇ* as well. It should also be noted that "Suppose I have died at your daughter's hand and she has killed me" is redundant.

(3) Line 335 says "She will no longer be able to escape the taint of bloodshed." This is an odd way of speaking. It makes little sense to say that after a given act, *Hermione* will no longer be able to escape from a taint which did not exist before that act. The second half of *οὐκέτ'* suggests the work of a man who needs an extra syllable and is not too particular about where he gets it.⁵²

(4) In 339–340, *Andromache* asks how (*πῶς*) *Neoptolemus* will "easily (*ῥαδίως*) put up with" the death of his son. The fact that *πῶς* tends to make *ῥαδίως* redundant might lead us to emend *καὶ πῶς* to *καὶ ποῦ* and to write a full stop after *ἀνέχεσθαι*, thus making an ironical statement out of the somewhat awkward question. But we are still left with the fact that the Greek for "take lightly, bear with equanimity" is *ῥαδίως φέρειν*, while *ῥαδίως ἀνέχεσθαι* is unexampled. *ῥαδίως* in fact looks like filler.

⁵² If there were no other problem with these lines, we could fix 335 plausibly by writing *οὐκ ἂν ἐκφυγοί*. As it is, the suspicion must be that they were written as they stand.

(5) In 341, *ἄνανδρον* means “unmanly, cowardly”; six lines later it means “without a husband.”

(6) In 348, *κατέχειν*, a verb which normally means “to hold down, restrain,” is used of a father keeping or supporting his daughter at home in her old age. *καθ-* is a convenient but meaningless syllable.

(7) In that same line, *χήρα* introduces the gratuitous supposition of Neoptolemus’ death. Neoptolemus is in fact dead or will shortly die, but neither the audience nor any of the characters knows this fact. The idea that Hermione might be widowed, instead of or in addition to being divorced, is not a likely conscious thought for Andromache, and unconscious irony would have little point.⁵³

Furthermore, the supposition of Neoptolemus’ death considerably weakens the argument. Andromache wants Menelaus to consider the difficulty of giving a satisfactory account — to prospective sons-in-law — of his daughter’s departure from her first husband. But a reference to her widowhood would satisfy all inquiries. To be widowed is respectable, to be divorced is not. (Cf. *Med.* 235–236.) *χήρα* has no point.⁵⁴

One cannot, of course, lay too much stress on an argument like this. Euripides presumably had bad days like anyone else, days when he wrote carelessly. Some careless passages may have escaped his revision. So it is conceivable that he might write “widow” by association with “grey-haired” and not stop to consider the consequences. But the line already has one superfluous syllable, and the addition of two more is yet another suspicious circumstance.

(8) Lines 350–351 are either ungrammatical or illogical:

*πόσας ἂν εὐνὰς θυγατέρ’ ἡδίκημένην
βούλοι’ ἂν εὐρεῖν ἢ παθεῖν ἄγῶ λέγω;*

If *εὐνή* means “concubine,” we have “With respect to how many concubines would you not prefer your daughter to be wronged rather than suffer what I predict?” An individual may be injured in his person, his qualities, his possessions, or his family. All are parts of him in one or another sense, and may therefore be expressed by an accusative of respect or part affected. But her husband’s concubines are not part of

⁵³ Tragedy, of course, is full of unconscious irony. In the *OT.*, for example, many things are said which are true in another way than the speaker intends them. But they are true in the speaker’s sense as well. None of the irony depends on someone misspeaking himself. The lines have a plain as well as an ironic sense.

⁵⁴ If *χήρα* does not mean “widow” here but merely “bereft of a mate” as it appears to in Aesch. *Dictyulci* 827–830 (see appendix to the Loeb Aeschylus II 540–541), then it is an otiose synonym for *ἄνανδρος* in the previous line.

Hermione, and she may therefore not be injured in respect to them. The accusative of respect is ungrammatical.

If, however, *ἐννῆ* means "marriage partner," the question is now grammatical ("With respect to how many husbands would you not prefer to see her wronged?"), but the natural reply would seem to be "How many does she plan to have?"⁵⁵

Individually, some of these points may be small, but their collective weight suggests that 333–351 are a histrionic interpolation. We can see evidence of similar interference with the text in 668–677.⁵⁶ The author of those lines was a man who appreciated Euripides' argumentation and thought he could improve the play by adding more. He enjoyed writing about domestic squabbles, in particular, the relation of the husband to his in-laws. It is quite likely that 333–351 are another specimen of his work.

Suspicion of interpolation grows stronger still, however, when we read *Andromache's* speech without the lines in question.

- 320 ὦ δόξα δόξα, μυρίοισι δὴ βροτῶν
οὐδὲν γεγῶσι βίοτον ὥγκωσας μέγαν.
εὐκλεία δ' οἷς μὲν ἔστ' ἀληθείας ὕπο,
εὐδαιμονίζω· τοὺς δ' ὑπὸ ψευδῶν, ἔχειν
οὐκ ἄξιῶ γῶ, πλὴν τύχῃ φρονεῖν δοκεῖν.
325 σὺ δὴ στρατηγῶν λογάσιν Ἑλλήνων ποτὲ
Τροίαν ἀφείλου Πρίαμον, ὦδε φαῦλος ὢν;
ὅστις θυγατρὸς ἀντίπαιδος ἐκ λόγων
τοσόνδ' ἔπνευσας, καὶ γυναικὶ δυστυχεῖ
δούλῃ κατέστης εἰς ἀγῶν'. οὐκ ἄξιῶ
οὔτ' οὖν σὲ Τροίας οὔτε σοῦ Τροίαν ἔτι.
352 οὐ χρὴ πὶ μικροῖς μεγάλα πορσύνειν κακὰ
οὐδ', εἰ γυναικὲς ἐσμεν ἀτηρὸν κακόν,
ἄνδρας γυναιξὶν ἐξομοιοῦσθαι φύσιν.

⁵⁵ One scholiast was actually driven to this alternative. He writes τί ἂν βούλοιο; ἄρα πολλοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκδοῦναί σου τὴν θυγατέρα ἢ παθεῖν ἃ λέγω; This, of course, is nonsense. The point of 344–348 is that she may not get another husband.

One further — slightly more subjective — consideration might be noted here. It seems rather silly to describe the forcible ejection of Hermione from the house as a proof of Neoptolemus' courage (341) and as a deed "worthy of Peleus and of Achilles his father." (This in a speech which disparages domestic squabbles as *infra dignitatem*.) Furthermore, it does scant justice to the Aeacid line: the only woman Achilles ever raised a hand against was Penthesilea, and that was in circumstances rather different from these. The speech is rendered both contradictory and bathetic.

⁵⁶ See also the scholia to line 7.

- 355 ἡμεῖς γὰρ εἰ σὴν παῖδα φαρμακεύομεν
καὶ νηδὺν ἐξαμβλοῦμεν, ὥς αὐτὴ λέγει,
ἐκόντες οὐκ ἄκοντες, οὐδὲ βώμιοι
πίτνοντες, αὐτοὶ τὴν δίκην ὑφέξομεν
ἐν σοῖσι γαμβροῖς, οἷσιν οὐκ ἐλάσσονα
360 βλάβην ὀφείλω προστιθεῖς ἀπαιδίαν.
ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν τοιοῖδε τῆς δὲ σῆς φρενὸς
ἔν σου δέδοικα· διὰ γυναικείαν ἔριν
καὶ τὴν τάλαιναν ὤλεσας Φρυγῶν πόλιν.

The speech now has a remarkable unity of theme. It is about one thing, the standard of due proportion a man of worth ought to live by. He ought to consider some things beneath his notice, and enter the fray only when there is a worthy reason. That kind of man is contrasted with those who have no standards and are therefore trifling.

Menelaus is a man of the second sort. The occasion is slight — a quarrel between two women, one a slave, the other a mere child — yet Menelaus is “breathing out threatenings and slaughter” (*τοσόνδ’ ἔπνευσας*, 327). And all for nothing, since Neoptolemus’ family will certainly not ignore a charge like witchcraft. But such foolish over-reaction is entirely (and lamentably) characteristic of Menelaus, as even his greatest exploit shows. For he also destroyed Troy in the matter of a female. We now have a magnificent speech.

It should also be noticed that 352 now bears a different meaning from before, this time the one the Greek language requires and the one Euripides clearly intended. Formerly, in a context where *κακῶν ἐπιρροαί* (348) have just been mentioned and a reference has just been made to the sufferings (351) which Andromache predicts, the *μεγάλα κακά* of 352 must inevitably refer to the disastrous consequences to Hermione’s marriage which Andromache has just described. The line must therefore mean “There’s no use making catastrophes of trifles” (Nims); “Why, then, invite calamity for so slight a cause?” (Vellacott); “We ought not for slight cause court grievous harm” (Way); or “Il ne faut pas, pour de petits motifs, susciter de grands maux” (Mérider).⁵⁷ The trouble with this is that *πορσύνειν κακά* never means “to cause calamity (unintentionally to oneself or one’s friends)” but “to bring harm (intentionally to one’s enemies).” The basic meaning of the verb is “to

⁵⁷ Cf. Hyslop, “He should not make so much of Hermione’s charges, as to bring on her the troubles just described”; and Paley, “‘It is not right on trifling grounds to forward (or promote) great evils.’ This repeats the sentiment just above enunciated.”

prepare," and it is always used of deliberate results.⁵⁸ It is therefore highly unlikely that the phrase should have in view the accidental side effects of Menelaus' actions.

In its new setting, however, 352 is Greek. "One should not requite slight injuries with grave ones."⁵⁹ Here *πορσύνειν κακά* means what it says, to cause deliberate harm, not to Hermione but to Andromache. The line in fact summarizes the whole speech, which is about over-reaction to trivial circumstances. It is to this point that Menelaus replies in 366-373. Andromache repeats the same idea in 387. These are the grounds on which the whole argument of the scene is conducted, not those of Menelaus' self-interest. The *χρή* of 352 is not the hypothetical "ought" of prudential calculation, but the categorical "ought" of basic moral axioms.

In the nature of things, the case for the excision of those 19 lines can never attain absolute certainty. But the following points should be considered. Difficulties begin precisely at 333 and end precisely at 350-351. The removal of just those 19 lines not only produces no awkward join (a remarkable fact in itself) but restores Greek sense to the passage precisely at the point of excision. If the lines are by Euripides, all this is coincidence. That is a hypothesis some, no doubt, will still accept. For others, it has already gotten too costly.

The cost goes up still more, however, when we look at Menelaus' speech in reply. According to our manuscripts, Andromache has just finished a speech with three points: (1) it is unworthy of the conqueror of Troy to exert his might in such a petty quarrel; (2) his intervention will have disastrous effects, and in particular will result in the dissolution, rather than the preservation, of his daughter's marriage; (3) Neoptolemus and his family will try her on the charges of drugs since they are the ones concerned. It is therefore odd that Menelaus answers her first point (366-373) and her third (374-377), but says no word in reply to the second. What he says in reply to her first point (370-373) is even more remarkable:

κἀγὼ θυγατρί — μεγάλα γὰρ κρίνω τάδε,
λέχους στέρεσθαι — σύμμαχος καθίσταμαι.
τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα δεύτερ' ἂν πάσχοι γυνή,
ἄνδρὸς δ' ἁμαρτάνουσ' ἁμαρτάνει βίον.

⁵⁸ Cf. *A. Ag.* 1251, 1374; *Cho.* 911; *Pers.* 267; *E. Andr.* 1063; *X. Cyr.* 1.6.17.

⁵⁹ Lit. "give grave injuries in return for (because of) slight ones." For this use of *ἐπί*, see LSJ s.v. III.1.

Not only does he make no attempt to show that his action will not have the consequences to his daughter's marriage 333-351 so vividly depict, he explicitly assumes the direct opposite. He does this, I suggest, because he never heard those lines in the first place.

These are the grounds for excising these lines. It remains to consider two consequences of excision for the interpretation of the play. By removing 333-351, we go a long way toward answering the objections that have quite naturally been raised against Menelaus' part in the action, but which have led to a quite unnatural interpretation of the play. Verrall tried to show that Menelaus' persecution of Andromache and her son is unintelligible — because patently counterproductive — on the play's usual interpretation. It makes sense only on the following assumptions: Menelaus is in league with Orestes and is trying to bring about, for dynastic reasons, a marriage between his daughter and his nephew; he knows that Neoptolemus has already been killed by Orestes and therefore poses no threat. But he also knows that his daughter, who passionately loves Neoptolemus, will never be persuaded to marry Orestes unless she can be convinced by subterfuge that she has wronged her husband past all forgiveness; and she must be made to leave Phthia before she hears of Neoptolemus' death, for she would never consent to marry her husband's murderer. So Menelaus arranges that she should be implicated in a murderous attempt on her husband's only son, manages to have Peleus interrupt the attempt, and thereby prepares the way for Orestes, who is waiting in the wings.⁶⁰

This absurd conclusion, for which not a line of direct evidence exists in the play, rests in large measure on the lines I wish to omit and Menelaus' lack of reply to them. For if Menelaus merely mutters something about helping his daughter's marriage when it had been plainly demonstrated that his proposed action will do no such thing, it is not unnatural to assume that he is playing some deep game.

But Menelaus' game is far from being deep. He is attempting to murder his son-in-law's slave and her bastard son in order to help his daughter against her rival. He has chosen a moment when Neoptolemus is away and when he therefore need not worry about interference. He apparently intends to present his son-in-law with a fait accompli upon his return.

⁶⁰ This interpretation is his first chapter, "A Greek Borgia," pp. 1-42. See also P. Vellacott's introduction to the play in *Orestes and Other Plays* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex 1972) 26-43.

Things do not go as planned. Peleus appears unexpectedly, stops the murder, and then orders Menelaus to leave. When he does so, his daughter, bereft of support, tries to commit suicide and ultimately runs off with Orestes. His plan thus totally misfires.

But viewed beforehand and apart from unforeseen contingencies, the plan must be intelligible in itself. Otherwise, the audience will not know what to make of Menelaus' actions. And a dramatist who knows what he is doing can make it so.

It must be admitted that Menelaus' scheme does not seem terribly safe. If we think about it, Neoptolemus' reaction to the news that his wife and father-in-law have killed his concubine and his son will certainly be unpleasant. It is conceivable that he might send his wife back to her father, although it is also possible that he might acquiesce in a fait accompli presented to him by his powerful father-in-law. (There is also the matter of a large dowry, kept constantly before our eyes. Cf. 152-153, 211, 640, 871-873.) We have not met Neoptolemus and do not know how he will react. The point is, however, that the audience will assess the probabilities of this situation precisely as the dramatist wants them to. If his story requires a murderous attempt on the life of a woman and her son, he can make this an intelligible act by emphasizing (as he does) that the woman is a slave and one of the enemy (cf. 119, 128, 137, 155, 186, 197, 203-204, 247, 327-328, 374-375, 390-391, 401, 433-434, 515-516, and 647-666), not by drawing attention to the fact that the boy is Neoptolemus' only son. He can then leave the impression that the scheme might have worked but for the intervention of Peleus. Menelaus must be a knave; it is not necessary that he be an utter fool as well if the dramatist knows his business.

One final point concerns the character of the heroine. Throughout the play, Andromache has taken a very high and uncompromising line with her persecutors. In her speech to Hermione, she makes no attempt to placate her or even to dissuade her from her course of action. She realizes (188-190) that by stating the justice of her case she may actually incur further injury. But she refuses to desert the realm of principle. Instead of begging for her life, she delivers a speech of withering scorn which, after demonstrating the absurdity of Hermione's charges, goes on to enumerate her shortcomings as a wife.

Her speech to Menelaus, as we have recovered it, shows precisely the same attitude. We find no arguments of prudence here, and no real attempt to dissuade her persecutor. Andromache chooses "never to stoop": she will speak the unpleasant truth at whatever cost. Where

others might have entreated, she prefers to reprove her captor. She measures Menelaus coolly by the severe standard she herself was nurtured in, and finds him utterly wanting.⁶¹

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⁶¹ I would like to thank Professors Cedric Whitman, Mark Griffith, and Lowell Edmunds of Harvard University who read this article in its several parts and offered many useful criticisms and suggestions.

WASPS 1360-1369: PHILOKLEON'S ΤΩΘΑΣΜΟΣ

JEFFREY S. RUSTEN

THE more closely one examines this scene, the more apparent it becomes that something is amiss in the *textus receptus*. First of all, Philokleon sees his son approach, and tells the flute-girl what he intends to do:

1360 ὁδὶ δὲ καὐτός. ἐπὶ σὲ κᾶμ' ἔοικε θεῖν.
 ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα στῆθι τάσδε τὰς δετὰς
 λαβοῦσ', ἵν' αὐτὸν τωθάσω νεανικῶς,
 οἷοις ποθ' οὔτος ἐμὲ πρὸ τῶν μυστηρίων.

Immediately there charges in an uncharacteristically foul-mouthed Bdelykleon, who shouts:

1364 ᾧ οὔτος οὔτος, τυφέδανέ καὶ χοιρόθλιψ,
 ποθεῖν ἔρᾱν τ' ἔοικας ὠραίας σοροῦ.
 οὔτοι καταπρίξει μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τοῦτο δρῶν.

A retort from his father is followed by a more precise description of Philokleon's wrongdoing:

1367 Φι. ὡς ἡδέως φάγοις ἄν ἐξ ὄξους δίκην.
 Βδ. οὐ δεινὰ τωθάζειν σε τὴν ἀνλητρίδα
 τῶν ξυμποτῶν κλέψαντα;

Now for Aristophanes τωθάζειν meant "mock, deride" and is a somewhat stronger word than σκώπτειν.¹ Since Philokleon says at 1362 that he will mock his son, and since Bdelykleon recognizes at 1368 that he is

¹ See R. Kassel, *Der Text der Aristotelischen Rhetorik* (Berlin 1971) 133, and Gow on Theocritus 16.9. The translation "play a trick on" (Aristophanes *Wasps*, ed. D. M. MacDowell [Oxford 1971] 309) has no foundation. On the religious associations of τωθασμός see H. Fluck, *Skurrile Riten in griechischen Kulte* (Diss. Freiburg 1931) 11-35 (but his conclusion on this passage [p. 12 n.5] is not to be accepted); on cultic aischrology in general see N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford 1974) 215-217, and (on iambus/Iambe) M. L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin 1974) 22 f.

the object of this mockery,² we require some verbal evidence of *τωθασμός* by Philokleon in between. We search in vain, since 1367 is rather weak.

There are, however, two magnificently abusive trimeters in 1364–1365, and they should be spoken by the father (cf. Philokleon *σκώπτων ἀγροίκως* 1320), not the son. The scene now runs as follows: after his interlude with Dardanis (1341–1359), Philokleon sees his son running out to end his fun. He decides to take the offensive, and instructs the girl (who is nude, as we learn from 1373–1378) to stand still and hold the torch which Philokleon has carried home from the symposium. The purpose of all this is for Philokleon, who is now playing the *νεανίας*,³ to reenact the mockery which his son once practiced on him before the Eleusinian mysteries (1360–1363). Bdelykleon now runs onto the stage, but his father is ready for him. Before the son can say a word, Philokleon presents him with the spectacle of a nude girl holding a torch,⁴ and calls to him in derision (1364–1365).⁵ Bdelykleon is outraged (1366), but his father does not care (1367); he answers the charge of *τωθασμός* and of the theft of the flute-girl by denying that she even exists, which leads to further joking (1369 f).

² Lines 1368–1369 can only mean that Philokleon has *previously* stolen the flute-girl and is *now* mocking his son. The translation offered by MacDowell (above, n.1) 310 ignores the tense of *κλέψαντα*.

³ Cf. *νεανικῶς* 1307, *νεοπλούτῳ* *τρυγί* 1309, *νεανίας* 1333, *νέος* 1355, and the reversal of father-son roles at 1351–1359; Bdelykleon himself first brought up *τὸ νεανικόν* at 1204.

⁴ Noteworthy for comparison with Dardanis' pose here is a nude statuette of Baubo, holding two torches, from Priene (M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I [2nd ed., Munich 1955] pl. 45.3; see Walter Burkert, *Homo Necans* [Berlin 1972] 314 f, and Fritz Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* [Berlin 1974] 168 f). It is probably more than coincidence that here in *Wasps* we have a nude, torch-bearing girl in the context of Eleusinian aischrology. Thus the assumption of Graf, that Baubo's nudity was primarily associated with the Thesmophoria (p. 170 f), may require slight revision. Probably female nudity from the Thesmophoria found its way to the less ritual antics of the *γεφυρισταί* as well; cf. Hesychius s.v. *γεφυρίς* (quoted below), and Wilamowitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* II (Berlin 1932) 53 = 52 of the 2nd ed. (Berlin 1955).

⁵ Jebb (on Soph. *O.C.* 1627) notes that *ὦ οὗτος οὗτος* is an impatient call, but not insulting; yet there (and at *Ajax* 89 *ὦ οὗτος, Αἴας*) the addition of a proper name softens the address. At *Wasps* 1364 the following vocatives only reinforce the impression of insult. — In 1365 *ποῖ θεῖς*; (van Herwerden) *ἐρᾶν γ'* (Bothe) now seems more attractive, as it is addressed to Bdelykleon (who *ἔοικε θεῖν* at 1360). — *ῥαίαις* *σοροῦ* is of course *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* for *ῥαίαις κόρης*. If the new expression has any literal meaning (it need not; cf. 1370 *ἀπὸ τύμβου πεσών*) it would mean "a youthful (not "timely") coffin," i.e., "an early grave" (if Bdelykleon comes any closer).

That the scene runs smoothly this way and that the exchanges between father and son now make sense are of course the best arguments for reassigning 1364–1365 to Philokleon; but there are others. One is that the scholiast seems to have read them that way.⁶ Another is that, unless *Wasps* 1366 marked the beginning of Bdelykleon's words, it would form an exception to Aristophanes' usage; he only employs οὔτοι καταπροίξει at a change of speaker.⁷

What aischrology, a nude ἀλλητρίς, and Philokleon's "youthfulness" have to do with the mysteries at Eleusis⁸ was doubtless clear to Aristophanes' audience; it is less so to us. Yet the background of the scene can perhaps be illuminated by another text. Mockery, a πόρνη, and Eleusis are combined in a gloss in Hesychius:⁹

γεφυρίς· πόρνη τις ἐπὶ γεφύρας, ὡς Ἑρακλέων· ἄλλοι δὲ οὐ γυναικα, ἀλλὰ ἄνδρα ἐκεῖ καθεζόμενον <πρὸς>¹⁰ τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι μυστηρίων συγκαλυπτόμενον ἐξ ὀνόματος σκώμματα λέγειν εἰς τοὺς ἐνδόξους πολίτας.

Since it is unlikely that only ἔνδοξοι πολῖται were the victims of these σκώμματα, the information given corresponds well with Philokleon's

⁶ Cf. schol.^{RV} *Wasps* 1364: τὰναντία λοιδορεῖται ὁ γέρων τῷ υἱῷ and schol.^R 1365: σοροῦ· παρὰ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν <ὡς> εἰς γέροντα (so W. O. Rutherford, *Scholia Aristophanica* II [London 1906] 433; cf. schol.^{RV} 1370: καὶ τοῦτο ὡς εἰς γέροντα, where ὡς has fallen out in R). The manuscripts' introduction of a false change of speaker may have been caused by a scribal belief that "vocative" οὗτος signified a speech by the entering character (see Dover on *Clouds* 723). The deletion of the true change of speaker in all manuscripts but R (where it may be only a mistake) and the confusion in the scholia would have followed. On manuscripts' attributions in general see J. C. B. Lowe, *BICS* 9 (1962) 27–42.

⁷ Cf. *Knights* 435, *Clouds* 1239–1240, *Wasps* 1396, *Thesm.* 566. In fact, if it did not occur at a change of speaker, *Wasps* 1366 would form an exception to all Aristophanic lines containing οὔτοι (or οὐ τοι).

⁸ πρὸ τῶν μυστηρίων means here, as at Plato *Meno* 76e, "before the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries" (see Graf [above n.4] 29 n.36).

⁹ For further references on γεφυρισμός see Fluck (above n.1) 52 f, and the indexes of Graf and Burkert s.v. γεφυρισμοί (*Frogs* 416 f is not an exact imitation; see Graf [above n.4] 45). The present reconstruction is based on Burkert (above, n.4) 307. Hans Herter would see in the γεφυρίς "eine gewöhnliche Brückenhure," but does not explain how, in that case, the rest of the gloss (after Ἑρακλέων) should be understood (*Vom dionysischen Tanz zum komischen Spiel* [Iserlohn 1947] 53 n.132 and *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 3 [1960] 86 n.291. I owe these references to Professor W. J. Slater).

¹⁰ If no more than one word has fallen out of the text here, I consider πρό the most likely supplement, although <ἐπί> (Latte) or <ὄν>των (Radermacher: "during the mysteries") would be in better agreement with τοῖς μυστηρίοις in the following gloss on γεφυρισταί (for the dative see Graf [above n.4] 29 n.36).

jest. The prostitute was presumably required for nudity or sexual humor of some sort;¹¹ perhaps her role (like that of Dardanis in *Wasps*) was occasionally played by a man.¹²

It has been noted that Philokleon, in his *τωθασμός* no less than in his speech to Dardanis (1351–1359), takes the part of a youth. Bdelykleon is accordingly considered a *γέρων* while he is mocked (1365 *σοροῦ*, 1370 *τύμβον*). These roles are not discarded until 1379 f, when Bdelykleon calls his father back to reality and Philokleon begins to show a preference for age over youth (1385 *ὁ πρεσβύτερος κατέβαλε τὸν νεώτερον*). In view of this temporary reversal of roles, and on the assumption that Philokleon's jesting is a reasonably close imitation of *γεφυρισμός*, it is possible to draw a further conclusion about the latter: that on this occasion youths had license to mock their elders. Thus we can understand not only why the "youthful" Philokleon chooses this form of mockery, but also how his son can have practiced it on him, as we are told he once did (1363).¹³ For this there is no independent evidence, but nothing contradicts it either, since *γεφυρισμός* seems to have been a public event.¹⁴ We might expect such mockery (particularly if it involved impersonating a woman) to have been the province of the more high-spirited elements of Athenian youth.

Whether a link with *γεφυρισμός* be accepted or not, it is certain that Philokleon's use of *τωθάξειν* refers to contemporary cultic aischrology. Since Fluck's study of the word is not generally accessible, it may be

¹¹ Cf. *ἀνασυρτόλις*, applied to a *πόρνη* by Hipponax (fr. 135A West, cf. *ἀνασύρεσθαι* Hdt. 2.60 [with *τωθάξειν*, quoted below] and Orph. fr. 52.1 Kern [of Baubo: *ὥς εἰποῦσα πέπλους ἀνέσύρετο* . . .]).

¹² So Radermacher, *Frösche* (2nd ed., Vienna 1954) 203 n.

¹³ Van Leeuwen and MacDowell assume that 1363 cannot be accepted as factual, since the reversal of roles is still operating, but they are then compelled to postulate types of aischrology for which there is no evidence. It is much more natural to take the line at its face value; Philokleon is adding (to himself and to the audience) another reason for his subsequent behavior — revenge.

¹⁴ It has often been assumed that only those already initiated could be *γεφυρισταί*, but in the testimonia on *γεφυρισμός* (listed in Fluck [above, n.1] 52–58) there is no such stipulation. To be sure, schol.^v *Wasps* 1361 says *οἱ μεμνημένοι τοὺς μέλλοντας μνηῖσθαι δεδίδτονται*, but (as *δεδίδτονται* shows) this remark is a mere *αὐτοσχεδίασμα*, as is schol.^{rv} *Wasps* 1361: *τοὺς γὰρ μέλλοντας μνηῖσθαι προλαβόντες δεδίδτονται*. In the latter Rutherford translates *προλαβόντες* as "those who have gone through it before" (= *οἱ μεμνημένοι*), and adds the article; but Professor Albert Henrichs has suggested to me that it merely means "[frighten them] beforehand," the scholiast's paraphrase of *πρὸ τῶν μυστηρίων*. This is surely preferable.

useful to note here the other instances from the fifth and fourth centuries in which it has religious associations:

Herodotus (II.60) describes how the female pilgrims to Boubastis, whenever they reach a town, sing and dance; they also pull up their skirts, and mock the women of the town (αἱ δὲ τωθάζουσι βοῶσαι τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ γυναικάς . . . αἱ δὲ ἀνασύρονται ἀνιστάμεναι).¹⁵

In Plato (*Republic* 473e–474a) Glaucon warns Socrates how vigorously his ideas will be opposed: καὶ ὅς, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, τοιοῦτον ἐκβέβληκας ῥῆμά τε καὶ λόγον, ὃν εἰπὼν ἡγοῦ ἐπὶ σέ πάννυ πολλοὺς τε καὶ οὐ φαύλους νῦν οὕτως, οἷον ῥίψαντας τὰ ἱμάτια, γυμνοὺς λαβόντας ὅτι ἐκάστῳ παρέτυχεν ὄπλον, θεῖν διατεταμένους ὡς θαυμάσια ἐργασομένους· οὐς εἰ μὴ ἀμυνῇ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἐκφεύξῃ, τῷ ὄντι τωθαζόμενος δώσεις δίκην.¹⁶

At *Politics* 1336b. 14–17, where he is discussing banning from the city aischrology and representations of αἰσχρά, Aristotle forbids obscene statues and paintings, “except in the case of some gods, the sort to whom the law also allows τωθασμός” (εἰ μὴ παρά τισι θεοῖς τοιούτοις οἷς καὶ τὸν τωθασμὸν ἀποδίδωσιν ὁ νόμος).¹⁷

The deities, locations, and details may differ, but physical or verbal abuse combined with nudity seems to have characterized all cultic τωθασμός. Neither Bdelykleon nor Aristophanes’ audience missed these connotations.¹⁸

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

¹⁵ On this passage see Graf (above, n.4) 169–170, and D. Fehling, *Ethologische Überlegungen auf dem Gebiet der Altertumskunde* (Munich 1974) 35, with n.150.

¹⁶ This allusion may not be cultic, although the details given (which correspond strangely to the Lupercalia, see S. Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer* I [Kristiania 1914] 52–53) and the words τῷ ὄντι suggest that no metaphor is involved. Choral attacks (e.g., *Wasps* 408 f) have been suggested as parallels.

¹⁷ The type of art which, along with mockery, is permissible because of its cultic connections is probably exemplified by statuettes of Baubo (see above n.4), or phallic representations in the cult of Dionysus.

¹⁸ Two later examples of the word are religious: Conon ap. Photius *Bibl.* 186 p. 141b Bekker (= *FGrHist* 26 F1.1L) uses τωθασμός and ἀντιτωθάζειν of the aischrology at Anaphe (cf. Callimachus *Aitia* fr. 21 Pfeiffer, where the poet apparently [the context is incomplete] compares χλευασμός at Anaphe with Eleusinian aischrology). — Semos of Delos ap. Athen. 14.622 (= *FGrHist* 396 F24 = A. Tresp, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Kultschriftsteller* [Giessen 1914] fr. 165) uses τωθάζειν of the φαλλοφόροι (on whom see A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy* [2nd. ed. rev. by T. B. L. Webster, Oxford 1962] 137 f).

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THE CURSE OF CIVILIZATION: THE CHORAL ODES OF THE *PHOENISSAE*

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THE opening invocation of the *Phoenissae*¹ laments "the day when Cadmus came to this land" — the day, that is to say, when the sun's "unhappy (*δυστυχῇ*) rays" shone upon the founding of Thebes. In the rest of the prologue Jocasta traces the genealogical line, and the fortunes and misfortunes, of Cadmus' descendants. She ends with the strife between the sons of Oedipus which threatens to engulf the city, and the vain plea that Zeus not "allow the same mortal always to continue unhappy" (*δυστυχῇ*). Thus, the present disasters of the city are linked with its origins; the act of Cadmus has culminated somehow in fraternal hostilities.²

The choral odes of the *Phoenissae* explain this connection between the city's present ills and the conditions of its foundation. They are organized in the form of a survey of the history of Thebes which leaves off only as the last chapter is about to be added in the form of an assault on

¹ The authenticity of the play's opening two lines has recently been brought into serious question by M. W. Haslam ("Euripides, *Phoenissae* 1-2 and Sophocles, *Electra* 1," *GRBS* 16 [1975] 149-174), who shows that line 3 of our *Phoenissae* was quoted as the opening line of the play in a second century collection of hypotheses to the plays of Euripides.

² The scholiast (E. Schwartz, *Scholia in Euripidem* I [Berlin 1887]) puzzles over the adjective *δυστυχῇ* because, as he says, "certainly Thebes was blessed at that time, on account both of the marriage of Harmonia, at which the gods feasted, and of the birth of Dionysus and Heracles. But Thebes began to grow ill from the time when Laius fathered a child against the will of the gods." The burden of the following argument will be against the view that the sorrows of Thebes are to be identified entirely with those of its ruling family. Modern commentators, e.g., W. Riemschneider, *Die Einheit der euripideischen Phönissen* (Diss. Berlin 1940) 9 (= *Held und Staat in Euripides' Phönissen* [Berlin 1940]), find similar difficulties in the line. But H. Parry (*The Choral Odes of Euripides: Problems of Structure and Dramatic Relevance* [Diss. Berkeley 1963] 57-58) notes the echo of the adjective in line 87, and sees it as one of several devices used in the beginning of the play to link past and present. E. Rawson ("Family and Fatherland in Euripides' *Phoenissae*," *GRBS* [1970] 1140) notes how Jocasta's prologue is constructed so as to make clear the kinship ties which bind the family together.

the city and the duel between the brothers.³ The choral odes therefore provide the critical link between the themes of fatherland and family, of the heroics of the past and the disgrace of the present,⁴ of the forces that foster and those that subvert the social and political order, and, finally, between the bright light of Apollo and Ares' dusky glow.⁵ Each of these "themes" (or set of themes) has been advanced as the central idea of the play, and the point of the drama has been interrupted accordingly.⁶ In the following pages I shall argue that all of these themes are in fact subordinated to and explicated by the historical pattern which the choral odes develop and that the odes themselves, taken all together,

³ The scholiast to Aristoph. *Ach.* 443 complains: οὗτος γὰρ (sc. ὁ Εὐριπίδης) εἰσάγει τοὺς χοροὺς οὔτε τὰ ἀκόλουθα φθεγγόμενους τῇ ὑποθέσει, ἀλλ' ἱστορίας τινὰς ἀπαγγέλλοντας, ὡς ἐν ταῖς Φοινίσσαις, οὔτε ἐμπαθῶς ἀντιλαμβανομένους τῶν ἀδικηθέντων, ἀλλὰ μεταξύ ἀντιπίπτοντας. W. Kranz (in *Stasimon: Untersuchungen zu Form und Gehalt der griechischen Tragödie* [Berlin 1933] 251) shows that the odes of this play are one of two types of "neue Lieder," those which amplify and comment on the material of the scenes, and those which import other material to broaden the themes of the play. Riemschneider (above, n.2) 25 calls the first four odes together the *Zyklus der Polis-Lieder*. Behind his exclusion of the fifth ode from the cycle lies a difference of opinion which separates us widely.

⁴ See lines 63–66.

⁵ The theme must be defined more precisely than is done by A. J. Podlecki ("Some Themes in Euripides' *Phoenissae*," *TAPA* 93 [1962] 355–373), who is criticized for being too general in his delineation of "themes" by H. Diller in his review article of Fraenkel (below, n.6) in *Gnomon* 36 (1964) 642. H. Parry (above, n.2) is not significantly more precise. S. Barlow, in *The Imagery of Euripides* (London 1971), correlates Euripides' use of light imagery with the new technique of *skiagraphia*, discovered and practiced in the last quarter of the fifth century. Her discussion enables us to distinguish between Apollo and Ares without invoking the opposition light/dark, which is in fact false to the presentation of the two deities in this play. The contrast is between two kinds of light: sunny brilliance and a more shadowy, somber light which is sometimes suggested by words conveying "flecked and dappled effects which no poet before [Euripides] has used in such profusion" (p. 9). This is the lurid light associated with Ares in the opening lines of the second antistrophe of the parodos. See now also Eleanor Irwin, *Colour Terms in Greek Poetry* (Toronto 1974) esp. 111–156.

⁶ For bibliography see Ed. Fraenkel, "Zu den Phoenissen des Euripides," *Sitzb. Bayer. Akad.* 1963/1, footnotes, and E. Valgiglio, *L'Esodo delle "Fenicie" di Euripide* (Turin 1961) 30–32, both of whom discuss the very important nineteenth-century scholarship on this play, upon much of which modern work has failed to improve significantly (see M. B. Arthur, *Euripides' "Phoenissae": The Politics of Justice* [Diss. New Haven 1975] 1–30). See also the more recent lists in D. J. Conacher, *Euripidean Drama* (London and Toronto 1967) 227–248, and E. Rawson (above, n.2).

make up a coherent whole picture which contains the central problem of the play.

To put it first in a somewhat schematic way: the parodos deals primarily with the prehistory of Thebes; the first stasimon relates the story of the city's foundation; in the second stasimon Ares, god of the dragon, and the Sphinx, a new threat, appear; Oedipus slays the Sphinx in the third stasimon, but brings new disaster which culminates in the sacrifice of Menoeceus; the fourth stasimon, the final choral ode, is given over to a fearful anticipation of the brothers' mutual killing. At this point the subject of the odes merges into the action of the play and the lyric burden of the drama passes to two of its protagonists, Antigone and Oedipus.

All of the themes and all of the events, past and present, in the history of Thebes, are woven in and out of the sequence of odes, so that the scheme above presents only a general delimitation of topics. (The figure of Io, for example, is connected primarily with the prehistory of Thebes, but she appears in the first three choral odes.) In what follows I shall treat each of the choral odes separately and in sequence.

PARODOS (202-260)

As the chorus of Phoenician women enter they explain their presence in Thebes, their origins, and their destination. The juxtaposition of the three locales is significant; as the ode progresses different characteristics are associated with each, so that each place develops a separate symbolic as well as geographical meaning.⁷

The chorus have come from the sea around Tyre (202), from "the Phoenician isle" (i.e., Tyre⁸), across the Ionian Sea (named after Io [Aeschylus, *PV* 837-840] who reversed her journey there and turned

⁷ Parry (above, n.2) 65 correlates the geographical with the emotional movement of the ode: "The peaceful opening proceeds eventually into a crescendo of fear. Technically, this is achieved in part by a geographical movement . . . and partly by a movement through time to the present moment." In his opinion the other odes are similarly structured; in my view there is also a more general movement in time, geography and emotion running from the first through the last ode.

⁸ Although it has been thought to be Carthage: among modern editors, Powell (London 1911) and Méridier (ed. Budé, Paris 1950; Méridier's work on the text ended with his death in 1933) still argue strongly for the view first put forward by Hartung and Radermacher (and cited as a possibility in the *apparatus criticus* of Murray [Oxford² 1913; rp. 1957]) that Carthage is meant. I now think that Pearson (Cambridge 1909) is right when he objects, "I cannot believe that Euripides would have alluded to the site of Carthage by such a misleading description as *Φοινίσσας ἀπὸ νάσου*" (ad 204).

eastward), wafted by the west wind blowing from Sicily.⁹ They identify Thebes as "the land of the Cadmeians, the famous sons of Agenor" (216-217). The chorus' origins and journeys are thus those of the legendary founder of the city of Thebes, Cadmus. And their interest in and concern for Thebes springs from this ancestral connection: κοινὰ γὰρ φίλων ἄχῃ, / κοινὰ δ', εἴ τι πείσεται / ἐπτάπυργος ἄδε γὰρ, / Φοινίσσαι χώραι (243-246). They share a further tie with the Thebans, through Io, "the woman with the cow's horns" (248), and the ancestral mother of their race. The Phoenician maidens, then, by virtue of their origins, are representatives of Thebes' prehistoric, legendary past.

The chorus of women are, as they also explain, a first-fruits offering for Apollo (203); and they are on their way to his Delphic shrine. Thus, it is quite natural for them to look forward to the happier destiny which awaits them at Delphi, and to contrast it with the chaotic confusion and cloud of danger which surrounds them at Thebes. Accordingly, in the first antistrophe, mesode, and second strophic pair (214-260) the chorus develop an opposition between Delphi and Thebes in which the two places contrast as the city of war and the sanctuary of peace.¹⁰

Delphi, where the chorus will enter the "service" (δοῦλα 205; λατρεία 225)¹¹ of Apollo, is the cult center for both Apollo and Dionysus.¹² There, under "Parnassus' snowy ridges," the maidens will wet the "virginal gleam" of their hair in the Castalian spring, and serve their god "like golden statues" (ἴσα δ' ἀγάλμασι χρυσοτεύ-/κτοις 220-221). There too are the "shining rock" and "twin-peaked gleam

⁹ A. Lesky (*Die tragische Dichtung der Hellenen* [Göttingen 1972] 446) approves Wilamowitz' (*Griechische Verskunst* [Berlin 1921] 278 n.1) description of the chorus' journey. According to this view, the chorus has already arrived at Delphi, "but have not yet entered upon their service," and have instead left for Thebes, where they find themselves trapped by the war. The difficulty with this view, as Kranz (above, n.3) points out, is that this itinerary seems to be contradicted by the chorus' references to Tyre as their last point of contact (lines 214, 219, 282, 292). Kranz concludes, "Wir glauben aber, über ihn noch hinausgekommen zu sein" (p. 296).

¹⁰ The metrical division of the ode follows the themes: in the second strophic pair where the scene is switched to Thebes, the ode changes from glyconics (choriambic dimeters) to trochaics. See Kranz (above, n.3) 233..

¹¹ Cf. Eur. *Ion* 54, 309, 310, 327. P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*³ (Munich 1920), describes the different types and their duties (53, 91, 94 esp.).

¹² The question of priority of Apollo or Dionysus at Delphi is much disputed. See H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos: Histoire du Culte de Bacchus* (rp. Paris 1970) 492-493. J. Fontenrose (*Python: A Study of Delphic Myth and Its Origins* [Berkeley and Los Angeles 1959]) proposes the theory that Dionysus of Delphi, "a god of death and winter," concealed by his association with Apollo his old identification with the dragon whom Apollo slew.

of fire" (226-227) of Dionysus. These were the lights which were seen at dusk and seemed to dance on the peaks of Phaidriades; Teiresias identifies them as a Bacchic phenomenon in *Bacchae* 306-307. And at Delphi will be the famous vine of Dionysus which produced a cluster of grapes every day for the god's worship:

οἶνα θ' ἃ καθαμέριον
 στάζεις τὸν πολύκαρπον
 οἰνάνθας ἰεῖσα βότρυν.
 (229-231)¹³

They will celebrate the god fearlessly (ἄφοβος, 236), whirling (εἰλίσσων 234-235) about the shrine in the patterned rhythms of the ritual dance.

The Delphi of the chorus is thus the place of union between Apollo and Dionysus, where the wilder aspects of Dionysian religion were curbed,¹⁴ and where the Apollonian thrust toward order and harmony was infused with the life-giving impulse of the Dionysian religion. The Dionysus of Delphi, who appeared with his Thyiades on one side of the pediments of the temple of Apollo, is a god of peace and civilization: "it was a gentler and more civilized Dionysos whom Delphi popularized and even helped to re-shape; the extravagance of his ecstatic abandonment was pruned and moderated . . ."¹⁵

The Apollo of this choral ode is the god of the oracle who, to establish his domain, slew the dragon whose cave the chorus mention: ζᾱθεᾱ τ' ἄντρα δράκοντος (232). This victory over the dragon was a famous example of a central theme in Greek mythology: the conquest and subordination of the darker, chthonic, and monstrous powers by the gods of the rational Olympian order.¹⁶ Apollo's victory is told in the *Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo* and in the third stasimon of the *Iphigenia Taurica* (1234-1282) of Euripides. Other forms in which this motif appeared were the Gigantomachy (described in the *Theogony* of Hesiod, and pictured on many famous buildings: the Argive Heraeum, the eastern metopes of the Parthenon, the Megarian treasury and

¹³ Parry (above, n.2) 72 notes that "Dionysus represents here a distinctly pleasant side of life, and his fruitful vine is a symbol of peaceful times."

¹⁴ See E. Rohde, *Psyche* II (rp. New York 1966) 282-289, and Jeanmaire (above, n.12) 187-198.

¹⁵ Rohde (above, n.14) 288; cf. also W. Burkert, *Homo Necans: Interpretationen altgriechischer Opferriten und Mythen* (Berlin and New York 1972) 141: "Der Tempel des 4. Jahrhunderts stellt im Ostgiebel Apollon im Kreis der Musen, im Westgiebel Dionysos inmitten der Thyiaden dar — eine überlegte Antithese von Morgen und Abend, Lichtem und Nächtlichem, die doch Brüder sind."

¹⁶ See Fontenrose (above, n.12) 13-22.

Alcamaeonid temple at Delphi); the Centauromachy (shown in the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia and on the southern metopes of the Parthenon); and the Amazonomachy (painted by Micon in his Athenian temple of 475 B.C. and the subject of many vase paintings, and depicted in the western metopes of the Parthenon, as well as on the outside of the shield of the statue of Athena Parthenos on the Acropolis).

The dragon, even more than the giants, Centaurs, or Amazons, is an unambiguous symbol of primordial chaos and destructive violence which is linked especially with the darker side of the chthonic powers.¹⁷ As the site of the dragon slaying, Delphi is the place where these fiercer powers have been mastered. But because Delphi is also, in this ode, the site of *rapprochement* between Apollo and Dionysus, it is also the place of the successful assimilation and transformation of the ecstatic, irrational, primitive, and wild in the form of Dionysus, whose representation in the form of animals (including the snake or δράκων¹⁸) was a symbol of his own savage potential.

It is Thebes, not Delphi, which emerges in the play as the place where the chthonic power of the dragon is still alive. The animal is identified as Ares', and it is this savage god who is above all others the god of Thebes in the *Phoenissae*. In the parodos he is the god who threatens Thebes and whom the chorus fear (δραιμαίνω 257). He covers the city with a dark cloud of war (ἀμφὶ δὲ πτόλιν νέφος / ἀσπίδων πυκνὸν φλέγει 250-251; cf. 241) which correlates with the murderous and savage element in Ares' own nature (σχῆμα φοινίου μάχης 252). The lurid light of Ares' cloud of war is set against the bright flame which glows on the Delphic mountain peaks, and against the golden character of the Delphic god. Ares, the chorus say, will "bring on for the children of Oedipus fulfillment of the curse of the Erinyes" (πημονᾶν Ἑρινύων 255), and later Ares' dragon demands the sacrifice of human blood. The god is thus identified with the chthonic powers who underwrote the primitive notion of retributive justice in the form of a demand of blood for blood.¹⁹

¹⁷ Fontenrose (above, n.12) 142-145.

¹⁸ Fontenrose (above, n.12) 378; Eur. *Bacch.* 1017-1018; E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1951) 275-277.

¹⁹ The dragon, Cadmus, and Ares were all traditionally associated with Thebes. See F. Vian, *Les Origines de Thèbes: Cadmos et les Spartes* (Paris 1963) passim. But Euripides' special concern with this mythic motif is shown by the fact that the dragon does not figure in Sophocles' three Theban plays or in Aeschylus' *Septem*. Finally, although the dragon is a figure of Thebes' ancestry, the motif is developed differently in different Theban plays. In the *Bacchae* it is a symbol of

The theme of Ares and his particular kind of justice leads into the highly suggestive closing lines of the parodos, in which the chorus claim that Polynices' assault on the city is *οὐ γὰρ ἄδικον* (258). These lines just precede Polynices' entrance and the great *Redeagon* in which the question of the nature of justice is the principal theme. But since they also just follow a reference to Ares in which he appears as the instrument of a primitive, ancestral kind of justice, it may well be that the "justice" which Polynices claims to have on his side is of the same kind.

The parodos is organized around a juxtaposition of three places: Phoenicia, Delphi, and Thebes. Seen from the chorus' point of view, Phoenicia is the past, Thebes the present, and Delphi the future. Seen developmentally, from the point of view of the city of Thebes, Phoenicia and the chorus' journey are remnants of a peaceful prehistoric past,²⁰ and Delphi is the locale of a *rapprochement* between opposing drives toward order and chaos. Thebes herself is a place of violence, and in subsequent odes the chorus explore the process whereby in Thebes the recurrent clash of forces ends, not in reconciliation, but in mutual slaughter.

FIRST STASIMON (638-689)

In this ode the chorus take up the history of Thebes where they had left off in the parodos.²¹ Thus, they develop a continuity of thought between the two odes which has several functions. First, it allows for expansion and specification of the themes of the first ode; here, the dragon motif is developed in connection with Thebes. Second, the introduction of the theme of the foundation of Thebes suggests, at this point in the drama, a continuity between past and present struggles. For the episode between the two odes was a long and important one; it contained the central agon of the play in which the practical and

animality, taken generally and manifested by both Pentheus and Dionysus, who are both associated with snakes. In the *Bacchae* the word *θήρ* is correspondingly frequent. In the *Phoenissae*, on the other hand, the dragon is a symbol of chaos and destruction, and hence associated principally with Ares.

²⁰ The description in the ode is for the most part neutral (but see 213: *κάλλιστον κελάδημα*); subsequent odes, especially the epodes of the first and second stasima, fill in the positive associations.

²¹ Riemschneider (above, n.2) 25-26 notes the correlation between the first and second odes; see esp.: "In der Parodos war es der Chor der Phönizierinnen, der Apollon, Dionysos und dann Ares erlebt. In diesem Stasimon ist es die Polis selbst, die Apollon, Dionysos und Ares erlebt."

ideological difficulties confronting the city were first articulated, and in which the difficulty of their resolution was made clear. In this context a description of past events reminds the audience of their relevance to the present strife.

The founding of Thebes took place in two phases; one is the subject of the strophe, the other of the antistrophe of this ode. The contrast is between a scene of peace and one of strife, much like the opposition in the parodos between Thebes on the one hand and Phoenicia and Delphi on the other. (We shall see how, in this and the next ode, the figures from Thebes' prehistory appear increasingly benign and positive in contrast with Thebes herself.)

Tyrian Cadmus, the chorus tell us in the strophe, was led to the site for the city by a cow, in accordance with an oracle which he had received from Apollo.²² As a theriomorphic symbol the cow betokens tranquility, fertility, and the settled order of civilized life. Further, the cow provides an etymological link with the land of Boeotia, so named from its wealth of plush cattle pastures. The cow also suggests an imagistic link with the horn-maiden Io, called *κερασφόρου* (248) and *κερόεσσα* (828) and who, in the language of this play, is a fertility figure (she is called *προμάτωρ* in 676 and 828).

The Thebes of the strophe is distinguished by its wheat-bearing plains (*πεδία πυροφόρα* 643–644), which are well-watered (*καλλιπόταμος ὕδατος . . . νοτὶς ἐπέρχεται γύας* 645–646) and abundant with growth (*χλοηφόρους / καὶ βαθυσπόρους γύας* 647–648). These fertile fields were the site of Dionysus' birth, and they protected the newborn baby with their rich green growth:²³

κισσὸς δὲν περιστεφῆς
 ἔλικος εὐθὺς ἔτι βρέφος
 χλοηφόροισιν ἔρνεσιν
 κατασκίοισιν ὀλβίας ἐνώτισεν.
 (651–654)

²² The oracle survives in the fragments of Hellanicus, a contemporary of Euripides: when Cadmus was searching for his lost sister Europa he came to Delphi and received an oracle from the god which told him "not to concern himself further with Europa but to take a cow as his guide and to found a city wherever she fell down toward the right in weariness" (Schol. D [A] *Iliad* 2.494 [= *FGrHist* 4F51]). See also Schol. *Phoen.* 638 (Schwartz) and Vian (above, n.19) 22–23; and cf. Apollodorus *Bibl.* 3.4.1.

²³ Cf. Pindar *Ol.* 6.43–55, where the newborn Iamos, child of Apollo and Evadne, whom the mother abandons, lies hidden "in the rushes and trackless brambles, his soft body washed by the purple and yellow rays of the violets."

Dionysus is called *Βρόμιον* (649), the epithet which suggests his wilder, thundering aspect. But this hint of the god's more feral aspect is undercut by the description in the following lines which associate him with the productive green of the vine, source of his gift of "the griefless delight of wine," as it was called in the *Bacchae* (423).

In the interests of projecting a vision of harmony between gods and men and between men and nature, Euripides has suppressed details of the myth which he reported in the *Bacchae*. There, Zeus struck Semele with his thunderbolt and snatched Dionysus from her womb. In this ode there is no hint of such violence, as Dionysus' birth is incorporated into an idyllic scene of primitive peace.

In the last lines of the strophe the chorus invoke the *ὄργια* celebrated on behalf of Dionysus:

βάκχιον χόρευμα παρθένοισι Θηβαῖαισι
καὶ γυναιξίν εὐίοις.

(655-656)

Here, too, the wilder aspects of the worship of Dionysus, most unambiguously visible in the *ὠμοφαγία*, are suppressed, and the ordered rhythm of the dance presents the wild potentiality of the cult subjected to the controlling force of the state religion. The *χορὸς ἄφοβος* (236) which the maidens will perform at Delphi bears this same meaning, as I pointed out above.

The antistrophe presents a strong contrast with the strophe of this ode. Blood, brutality, and conflict dominate the imagery and action in the stanza. The theriomorphic symbol is a bloody (*φόνιος* 657, 664) and savage (*ὠμόφρων* 658) dragon, rather than the gentle cow. The waters of Thebes are now guarded (*φύλαξ* 658) by this hostile monster, and no longer flow freely over the plains as in the strophe. The dragon of Ares rather than the son of Zeus (cf. 650) appears beside these waters, and the earth sends forth not green vegetation but an armed band of warriors (670-672).

As in the parodos, where the victory over a dragon was a necessary prerequisite to the founding of Apollo's oracle,²⁴ the foundation of the city of Thebes rests on the slaying of the dragon. Cadmus is the civilizer, the city's founder, but a monster-slaying hero as well. Nature is civilized,

²⁴ As Conacher (above, n.6) 246 notes, "the chorus' casual reference . . . amid the sights of Delphi, to the cave of the (Pythian) dragon which Apollo slew must surely be meant to anticipate that more relevant dragon slain by Cadmus [in the first stasimon]."

but the price is an act of bloody violence.²⁵ The slaughter of the dragon was prompted by Athena herself (667), so that divine sanction is granted to both actions of Cadmus — the selection of the site and the assertion of his power — by two deities who are also monster-killers.²⁶

But there is a further development to this motif which is peculiar to the *Phoenissae* and which has important consequences for the thematic structure of this play. And this is that, once the dragon is killed, a new threat arises, born from the earth:

ἐνθεν ἐξανῆκε γὰ
πάνοπλον ὄψιν ὑπὲρ ἄκρων
ὄρων χθονός.
(670-672)

Cadmus slaughters these men as well, and they “return” to the earth:

σιδαρόφρων
δέ νιν φόνος πάλιν ξυνῆψε γαῖι φίλαι.
(672-673)

The antistrophe concludes with two lines which formulate a contrast between the super- and sub-terranean worlds:

²⁵ The pattern is a common one in Greek and Near Eastern myth; according to Fontenrose's scheme (above, n.12) 9-11 the enemy which the hero must confront is always of divine origin, and the hero's victory is always followed by the institution of a cult, ritual, festival, and/or temple. The analogy with the story of Cadmus is clear; but for a closer examination, see Vian (above, n.19) 94-104 (discussion of Fontenrose) and 134-151, where Vian incorporates into the mythological scheme the female partner whose presence in the *Phoenissae* is indicated only by a few references to Athena and Harmonia, Demeter, Ge. And for a more general discussion of the theme of the interconnection between life and death, see J. P. Guépin, *The Tragic Paradox: Myth and Ritual in Greek Tragedy* (Amsterdam 1968): “Killing is an inevitable prerequisite for the preservation of life . . . Animal sacrifice, seen as an expression of respect for life, or rather as an expression of the fear of the talion which results from all killing, has its appealing side . . . The general feeling of guilt evoked by this necessary killing has led to fantasies of a paradise, a golden age, where man could still live in peace with the animal world . . .” (209). And see the treatment of the epode of the second stasimon, below 177-178.

²⁶ Athena is a monster-killer too: in the *Ion* Euripides joins the stories of Athena's and Apollo's victories over monsters by explaining to us the source of Creusa's poison (986 ff) and highlighting this and similar conquests by the chorus' excited description of Apollo's temple (185 ff). See the discussion in appendixes 1 and 2 of A. P. Burnett, ed. and tr. *Ion by Euripides* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1970).

αἵματος δ' ἔδευσε γαῖαν, ἃ νιν εὐηλόισι
δεῖξεν αἰθέρος πνοαῖς.

(674-675)

This is a rhythm and a circular movement of an opposite kind to that of the ritual dance in the lines of the strophe to which these respond metrically. This "dance of death" provides a suitable finale to a stanza in which blood and slaughter predominate, and form an appropriate contrast with the more peaceful rhythms of the life cycle in the strophe.

The birth of the Sown Men from the teeth of the dragon is a doubling of the original struggle with the dragon. And it is the event through which the contrast between the forces of civilization and the powers of death and destruction is widened into a dialectical opposition. For the threat continues to reappear throughout the history of Thebes, first in a form in which it is only imagistically linked with the dragon of Ares (the Sphinx), and then in a form which specifically harks back to the original slaughter of the dragon (the demand for the sacrifice of a descendant of the Sown Men).²⁷ The motif is like that of the curse on the house of Atreus in the *Oresteia* or on the house of Laius in Aeschylus' Oedipus trilogy, but the curse is no longer associated with one family or one royal house — it appears as the price of the city itself, and only gradually narrows its force so as to affect only the ruling family.

The curse in the *Phoenissae* is bound up with the very conditions of civilization, with the circumstances of the city's foundation. The monster and the monster-slayer each contain their own opposite, so that they are locked together in a cycle in which the hero becomes the city's bane, and the monster its savior. Just as Cadmus, the bringer of civilization and life, is also a killer, so Oedipus, Thebes' salvation, becomes her curse, and his two sons confront each other in a battle in which each man is defender and destroyer. Similarly, some of the Sown Men, the πάνοπλος ὄψις, survive to help Cadmus build the new city,²⁸ and Menoeceus, the descendant of the dragon, becomes the city's savior and the dragon's victim at one and the same time. And finally, Teiresias, the

²⁷ Parry (above, n.2) 101 discusses this theme: "To sum up, we see that there is a succession of φόνοι, related in the past to a bountiful earth and her offspring, these φόνοι being perpetrated by an arrival who in one sense was a newcomer, but in another a legitimate founder, authorized by an oracle."

²⁸ An incomplete scholium to 670 reminds us that some of the Spartoi were not slaughtered, namely Pelor, Echion, Oudaeus, Chthonius, Hyperenor, "and, according to Timagoras, Creon as well, from whom was born . . ." See also Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3F22c), and Apollodorus *Bibl.* 3.4.1-2; see also Vian (above, n.19) 158-176.

spokesman for the god who directs the works of civilization and the ordering of life, enters with a message of doom and death.²⁹ The curse of civilization is thus a principle which orders and controls all the major action of the drama.

The epode of this stasimon has something of the quality of what Dodds called (with reference to the second stasimon of the *Bacchae*) "a song in time of tribulation." There, the chorus call upon their god to restrain Pentheus' insolence (553-555). In this epode the Phoenician women invoke Epaphus, Io, Demeter, and Persephone. Epaphus, child of Io and of Zeus (677-678), and Io *προμάτωρ* (676) are linked with Thebes' prehistory, and it is significant that it is to such figures that the chorus turn as, at the same time, they seek to dissociate themselves from the city of strife. For they call upon the gods *βαρβάρωι βοᾷ, / ἰώ, βαρβάρους λιταῖς* (679-680), thus reminding us of their own origins. Clearly the prehistory of Thebes is remembered at this time as a happier and more auspicious era.

The intrusion of Demeter and Persephone into the choral odes has always caused comment.³⁰ But they too, like Io and Epaphus, belong to an earlier era in the history of Thebes, when "her fate had not yet

²⁹ Teiresias' prophecy, it should be noted, ironically reverses the relation between cause and effect of the initial slaughter of the dragon. Now, blood and death (*φόνιον αἶμα* 935; *αἶμ(α) βρότειον* 938) procure a blessing instead of a curse (*σύμμαχον Ἄρη* 936; *εὐμενῇ γῆν* 938-939). Blood and earth's fruit are now equated, not contrasted (*ἀντὶ καρποῦ καρπὸν ἀντὶ θ' αἵματος αἶμ(α)* 937-938). This reversal of the polarities parallels that whereby the hero becomes the destroyer, but the conversion of Ares, his dragon, and the dragon's seed (Menoeceus) into saviors of the land is a theme which is developed mostly outside of the choral odes, in the Menoeceus episode. It is thus a further point where the content of the choral odes merges with the surrounding episodes.

³⁰ The explanations of the ancient scholia are, as we might expect, the most ingenious, since these commentators were often concerned to harmonize different accounts of the same mythological tradition, and to rationalize the myths themselves. Thus, one commentator explains that "when the earth brought forth the Sown Men from the teeth of the dragon, Cadmus cut down some of them, but used some of them to furnish the city. Since, therefore, everything that is given forth from the earth is rightly thought to derive from Demeter, we assert that these men were given forth from the earth like some kind of growth to be fellow-founders of the city with Cadmus; therefore are the goddesses rightly said to have founded the city." But in fact no such ingenuity is required: the cult of Demeter Thesmophoros, and the parallel with Ge, is well attested for Thebes; see Vian (above, n.19) 135-139: "L'identité des deux déesses [Gé-Déméter] ne fait aucun doute pour Thèbes . . . A Thèbes, Gé-Déméter n'est pas confinée dans les attributions agraires et mystiques: elle est déesse acropolitaine . . . En tout cas, les attributions 'politiques' de la déesse ne sauraient faire de doute" (p. 136).

been weighed out for Thebes," according to Euphorion, who adds that Zeus gave the city to Persephone as a gift upon the occasion of her ἀνακαλυπτῆρια ("festival of unveiling").³¹

The chorus invoke Demeter in her most primitive aspect: πάντων ἄνασσα, πάντων δὲ Γᾶ τροφός (686), and call upon the goddesses jointly as πυρφόρους / θεάς (687-688). The epithet was used as a title of the two goddesses,³² and must refer to the torches associated with their reunion and used in their worship at Eleusis.³³ This festival was not only a joyous occasion but a celebration of the beneficent, civilizing aspects of the goddesses. For it was Demeter's office to ensure not only the fertility of the earth in general, but its regulated, periodical productivity.³⁴

The characterizations of Io, of Epaphus, and of Demeter and Persephone in the epode all share a concentration on the beneficent, fruitful, and joyous aspects of these figures. Io in the *Phoenissae* is not the tortured horn-maiden, driven wildly over the face of the earth, nor does Demeter search in sorrow for her lost daughter. As they are invoked in this stanza, Io has been "healed" (see Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 578 ff, *PV* 848), and

³¹ Schol. *Phoen.* 682 (= Euph. fr. 107 Powell).

³² *IG* 4.666.9, from Lerna, end of the fourth century A.D., discussed by M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* II² (Munich 1961) 354.

³³ In the myth Demeter searches for Persephone by the light of torches, borne by her and/or by her companion Hecate (*Hom. Hymn. Dem.* 52, 61); see N. J. Richardson, ed., *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford 1974) ad loc. This is also shown on vase paintings (e.g., the bell-krater in the Metropolitan Museum of Art by the Persephone painter [28.57.23]); other paintings and reliefs (e.g., the Niinnion tablet, the "Grand Relief of Eleusis," the relief on the upper part of the Rheitoi inscription) show Persephone holding two torches united with her mother or approaching her. Other deities share the epithet πυρφόρος (e.g., Zeus, Soph. *Philoct.* 1198). The πυρφόρος was an official in the worship of the goddesses at Eleusis; see K. Clinton, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s. 64.3 (1974) 94-95. Φοίβου πυρφόροι appear on the inscription mentioned above (*IG* 4.666.15).

³⁴ Demeter was often identified with Ge, as here and at Eur. *Bacch.* 275-276. (See A. Henrichs, "Die 'Erdbutter' Demeter," *ZPE* 3 [1968] 111-112, who introduces new evidence that the etymology whereby Δημήτηρ = Γῆ Μήτηρ antedated the Stoa.) However, Demeter's origins and the Greeks' awareness of it notwithstanding, Greek myth and cult show that Demeter functioned as an agricultural goddess and not as a generalized fertility goddess or earth-mother. As Nilsson says, "Demeter is a goddess of vegetation, but not of vegetation in general . . . The cult is decisive. Demeter presides at the threshing and at the autumn sowing. She is the Corn Mother." *Greek Folk Religion* (New York 1961) 50-51 = *Greek Popular Religion* (New York 1940); see also *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I² (Munich 1955) 472f, and above, n.30 end. *Contra*, W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and Their Gods* (rpt. Boston 1955) 283.

Demeter and Persephone are reunited and acting as guardians of the earth's fecundity. The ode is thus a wish, and the invocations function like homeopathic magic, calling upon the deities in their beneficent aspects so that they may function in that capacity for Thebes.

SECOND STASIMON (784-832)³⁵

The strophe of this ode develops a contrast between Dionysus and Ares³⁶ in which Ares' intrusion corrupts and perverts the Dionysiac celebration. *Ἄρης παράμουςος* is the central image of the stanza. Against the youthful beauty of Dionysus' maidens, the loveliness of their hair let down to stream in the wind, the patterned movement of their dance, and the sweet breathings of their musical instruments (786-788) Ares sets his blood and death (785), his breath of war (789), the stamping and snorting of his horses (793), and the clanging of armor (789). Ares dances at the head of a joyless procession (*κῶμον ἀναυλότατον προχορεύεις* 791)³⁷ and arrays an armed thiasos (*ἄσπιδοφέρμονα θίασον ἐνόπλιον* 796).

The contrast between Ares and Dionysus has been brought forward from the first choral ode, where Dionysus was remembered as a baby born beside the waters of Dirce. The juxtaposition of Dionysus and Ares in this ode thus resumes the contrast between the distant but harmonious past and the strife-filled present. At the end of this stanza we are brought forward in time to the era of the Labdacids. The strophe ends with a reference to the Strife linked with the Labdacidae, who

³⁵ This is an ode of the "mixed" type (see above, n.3), according to Kranz, who remarks also upon its sharp division into three separate units (p. 250; cf. also 313 on "die Sonderung der Teile im [spät]euripideischen Werk"). Kranz also cites this ode (which is in general an important one in the history of Greek lyric poetry) as a characteristic example of a "Vergangenheitslied" (p. 247). Riemschneider (above, n.2) 28 notes that Ares appears closer and closer to the beginning of the ode (in the second strophic pair in the Parodos, in the first opening pair in the first stasimon, and now in the opening lines of the ode).

³⁶ In the *Bacchae* 302 Teiresias explains that "Dionysus has some share in the province of Ares." Dodds (note ad loc.) notes the concurrence of some of their epithets. Guépin (above, n.25) 43-44 remarks that "the equivalence of Dionysus and Ares forms the divine counterpart to the equivalence of blood and wine," and cites Aesch. *Sept.* 497-498 on the raging of Hippomedon: *ἐνθεος δ' Ἄρει / βακχῆι πρὸς ἀλκὴν θινὰς ὥς φόβον βλέπων*. See also W. Burkert, "Greek Tragedy and Sacrificial Ritual," *GRBS* 7 (1966) 116 and n.67: "the intoxication of killing is called *βακχεύειν*."

³⁷ See Podlecki's discussion (above, n.5) 369-372 of the theme of "the joyless dance."

are called πολυμόχοις (800), echoing the opening line of the strophe: ὦ πολύμοχθος Ἄρης (784).

The antistrophe opens with an invocation of Cithaeron, an ironic response to the first line of the strophe. But there is disruption in this stanza too, as the grove of the mountain, snowy-white like Parnassus (cf. 206), with its sacred foliage and many animals, first saves Oedipus, the outcast disfigured by the brooches which pierce his feet, and then sends forth the Sphinx. The chorus' wish that Cithaeron had nourished neither suggests similarity between them: and indeed, though one was the monster, the other the hero, they were both deadly for Thebes. Cithaeron produced them both: the Sphinx is called an οὐρειον τέρας (806), and the role of the ἵπποβουκόλοι who saved the child (28 ff, cf. Sophocles, *OT*, 1086 ff) is here suppressed.

The description of the Sphinx assimilates her to the Ares of the strophe. She swept down upon Thebes, ἀμουσοτάταισι σὺν ᾠδαῖς (808) and τετραβάμοσι χαλαῖς (808a; cf. τετραβάμοσι 793). Thus, the present threat to Thebes is cast as a resumption of an old pattern. This latest strife, like the earlier ones, grew from the land itself: δυσδαίμων δ' ἔρις ἄλλα θάλλει (811-812).

The epode returns us in time to the foundation of Thebes, but recasts the metaphors of the strophe and antistrophe.³⁸ Like the first two stanzas, the epode opens with an invocation — to Gaia. Like Cithaeron, she brought forth a brood of monsters, born from “the beast-eating,³⁹ purple-crested dragon.” But, in the earlier, happier era of Thebes, the rhythms of the song and dance did not clash with the sounds of war, but accompanied the raising of the walls of the city: “to the music of the lyre the walls arose, and the tower rose up to Amphion's playing” (823-824). The occasion was a joyous one — the wedding of Harmonia, attended by the Ouranidae. Nature's growth was not perverted into

³⁸ Riemschneider (above, n.2) 29 observes that in the epode the “true hero of the play, the Polis” steps forward. But this is too general. Euripides has here incorporated the other half of what is known as the “double myth” of Thebes' foundation, the story of Amphion and Zethus, the “Boeotian Dioscuri,” who are, as Vian (above, n.19) 69-75 points out, “surtout les bâtisseurs des remparts et, à ce titre, ils jouent leur rôle . . . dans les origines de la ville.” The story appears first in the Catalogue of Women in *Od.* 11.260-265, and is related also by Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3F41) and Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 3.5.5). The importance of the story for Euripides here is that, as he relates it, incorporating the tale of the marriage of Harmonia and Cadmus, it presents a wholly positive and joyous picture, which is thus set off against the message of the rest of the ode.

³⁹ This is the adjective's meaning as a proparoxytone; contrast θηροτρόφος (of the mountain Nysa) at *Bacch.* 556.

monstrosity, but flourished freely and fully: "Dirce waters deeply the plain which fosters green growth" (826-827). And, finally, Io προμάτωρ brought forth not hostile, armed men but "the kings of the Cadmeians."

The epode takes up the themes and the language of the strophe and antistrophe and, by juxtaposing against them a picture of earlier felicity, presents the very process by which things generate the opposites which they contain. Harmony (Ἀρμονίας) and Strife (Ἔρις), the god below (ὁ κατὰ χθονὸς Ἄιδας) and the gods above (οὐρανίδαι), Ares' blood and death and Dirce's green growth, the strident sounds of war and Amphion's lyre, law-bringing kings and monstrous growths — all revolve in a cycle in which, as the chorus say at the end of the epode, the city of Thebes has been caught up.⁴⁰ It is an appropriate moment for the chorus to focus on the unity of opposites and on the paradoxes involved, since we are on the verge of a new manifestation of the destructive and deadly phase.

THIRD STASIMON (1019-1066)

The third stasimon is composed of strophe and antistrophe only. This accords with the tendency in many late Euripidean dramas for the lyric songs of the chorus to decrease in length and increase in intensity as the action of the play nears its climax. Often, as is the case here, the waning of the chorus' importance is balanced by an increase in the number and kinds of lyric passages sung by individual characters, or by the individual characters together with the chorus (μονωιδίαι or κομμοί, respectively).⁴¹

In the third stasimon the sense of heightened excitement is produced in part by the use of short cola in the iambo-trochaic system of the stasimon, in part by the liberal use of word repetition, exact or approximate:⁴² ἔβας ἔβας 1019; πολύφθορος πολύστονος 1022; ἔφερες ἔφερες 1030; φόνια φόνιος 1031; ἰάλεμοι . . . ἰάλεμοι 1033-1034; ἰηγήιον . . . ἰηγήιον 1036-1037; ἄλλος ἄλλ' 1038; ἀγάμεθ' ἀγάμεθ' 1054; γενοίμεθ' . . . γενοίμεθ' 1060-1061.

⁴⁰ Parry (above, n.2) 114 notes that the last two lines of the passage constitute a "summary priamel"; cf. *Bacch.* 902-911 and Dodds' note ad loc.

⁴¹ The same can be said of the chorus in the *Bacchae*, *Orestes*, and *Iphigenia Aulidensis*. And see Kranz (above, n.3) 231: "Die alten üppigen Klage- und Freudenrufe, die reichen Interjectionen der Chorlieder sind immer mehr verstummt . . . Das wirkliche Klagelied, auch das Gebet, hat sie erhalten." *Phoen.* 1283 ff is an example.

⁴² Kranz (above, n.3) 231 observes the archaic use of parallel openings in this ode (1018 and 1043), and further cites the ode as an example of a "dithyrambic stasimon" (in the number of which he includes the second stasimon of this play as well [p. 254]).

This choral ode is introduced at the point in the drama when Menoeceus has just exited, after having made clear to the chorus his intention to disregard the plans worked out with Creon, and sacrifice himself to save the city. Notwithstanding the emotional impact of the scene, the chorus sing about the Sphinx and the misfortunes of Oedipus for the first two-thirds of the ode; only in its last fourteen lines do immediate concerns form the subject.⁴³ For this reason the first part of the ode has often been condemned as irrelevant (e.g., *πρὸς οὐδὲν ταῦτα* — the scholiast). However, once Menoeceus' sacrifice is understood as one phase of the cycle in which the city is involved, the introduction of material from the earlier history of Thebes is understandable as part of the program to incorporate the impending disaster into the cycle and to bring it under the influence of the city's curse.⁴⁴

The first half of the strophe (1019–1029) describes the visitations of the Sphinx. The description of the monster is duplicated from the previous stasimon: she is a creature from below the earth (1019–1020; cf. 810) who snatches up her victims (1021; cf. 808–810), a winged (1019, 1024; cf. 806, 809–810) monster (1024; cf. 806), a virgin (1023; cf. 806) with horrible claws (1025; cf. 809) who sings a tuneless (i.e., joyless) song (1028; cf. 807). In this stasimon, however, she launched her attack on the city,⁴⁵ *Διρκαίων ποτ' ἐκ τόπων* (1026–1027), "the spot close to the fountain," as Paley (London 1860) explains it. This was the

⁴³ This fits the dithyrambic pattern, according to Kranz (above, n.3) 256: "Dabei [with the chorus' sudden turn toward Menoeceus] gedenken wir aber noch einmal der ganz unvermittelten Schlusssätze des Dithyrambos und des Nomos." Parry (above, n.2) 155 sees the intrusion of Menoeceus as part of a different pattern: "Time and again, in the *Phoenissae* and elsewhere, we see direct references to the matter in hand postponed until the climactic present is ready to be depicted against a backcloth designed with much care." See also E. Rawson (above, n.2) 125. In my own discussion I have tried to emphasize the thematic rather than formal reasons for the intrusion.

⁴⁴ Riemschneider (above, n.2) 34 comments on the strong connection between the play and the chorus at this point: "Wir stehen an der Stelle im Stück, wo die Handlung der Dialogszenen und die Dramatik des Liederzyklus eins werden. Die Stimmungsdistanz zwischen Lyrik und Dialog bleibt jedoch dabei gewahrt." But he goes on to conclude from this that the "Liederzyklus" is now closed ("der Kreis hat sich geschlossen" [p. 35]). In my opinion an interpretation of the song cycle which excludes the last chorus is *prima facie* too narrow. Others, e.g., Conacher (above, n.6) 231 have found fault with the too narrow focus of Riemschneider's scheme, whose outcome is to classify as essentially irrelevant to the drama everything after the sacrifice of Menoeceus.

⁴⁵ See Parry's insightful remark (above, n.2) 150: "It should be noticed that the elaborate description of the Sphinx's past actions does recall many of the features of a city attacked by a human foe."

fountain which the dragon of Ares had guarded.⁴⁶ In this choral song, then, the topographical emphasis has changed from Mount Cithaeron to the *νάματ' ἔνυδρα καὶ ῥέεθρα χλοερά* (659–660) of the first stasimon in which Cadmus slew the dragon. The chorus is gradually and in a more explicit manner associating all of the subsequent misfortunes of Thebes with the first act of violence. This stasimon ends, as we shall see, with a statement which asserts this connection outright and articulates openly for the first time the central thematic issue of the choral odes.

In the second half of the strophe (1030–1042) the chorus sing about the sorrows and lamentations which the visitations of the Sphinx provoked. The reminiscence is so vivid as to constitute a reenactment of the original ritual laments of the matrons and virgins (see especially 1033–1037 and above, n.45). The strophe concludes with a vivid simile: everywhere in the city the groaning and lamentation resounded like thunder: *βρονταὶ δὲ στεναγμός* (1039); the use of the historic present⁴⁷ gives the figure an even more forceful impact.

The antistrophe of this stasimon is similarly divided into two halves: for the first thirteen lines (1043–1053) the chorus relate the story of Oedipus; in the second thirteen lines (1054–1066) they lament Menoeceus' death which is taking place even as they sing, and then they resume the theme of the foundation of the city.

Oedipus, like the Sphinx to whom he had been likened in the second stasimon, was a dire visitation upon the city (cf. *χρόνῳ δ' ἔβα* 1043 with *ἔβας ἔβας* 1019⁴⁸); he brought the city both salvation and then more grief (*τότ' ἀσμένους, πάλιν δ' ἄχῃ* 1046). The double-headed, paradoxical effect of Oedipus' arrival is spelled out further:

ματρὶ γὰρ γάμους . . .

καλλίνικος ὦν

αἰνιγμάτων συνάπτει

μιαίνει δὲ πτόλιν.

(1047–1050)

In their review of Oedipus' career the chorus omit one important event: the murder of Laius. It was also left out (so far as we can tell; there are both textual corruption and a missing line at the crucial point) in the previous stasimon. The explanation for this omission should by now be obvious: to the chorus Oedipus' career is of interest as part of the life

⁴⁶ On the association of dragons with springs, see Fontenrose (above, n.12) 545–549.

⁴⁷ See Pearson (above, n.8) ad loc.

⁴⁸ See above, n.42.

cycle of the city of Thebes rather than as a series of heroic exploits. The murder of Laius took place outside the geographical limits of the city and so is irrelevant to the themes of the choral odes. As the chorus relate them, the outstanding events of Oedipus' life are four: he arrived in Thebes at the behest of the god Apollo (*Πυθίαις ἀποστολαῖσιν* 1043a), conquered the Sphinx, then married his mother and brought forth monstrous offspring who were a pollution to the city (1050; cf. 816⁴⁹), but whom he "vanquished" through his curse (1053–1054). The final victory is, however, no victory, since the curse produces a new and even more bloody strife (*μυσαρὸν εἰς ἀγῶνα* 1052). Oedipus' heroic career parallels exactly that of Cadmus, and the reintroduction, in the final lines of the ode, of the theme of the foundation of the city makes the connection explicit. Both Cadmus and Oedipus slew a monster, sowed the seeds of a new breed of beastly creatures with whom they then struggled and whom they finally conquered. The threat, however, was not extinguished, and reappears in the forms both of the dragon's demand for Menoeceus' blood and the brothers' demand for each other's blood (see 620 ff).

Menoeceus' death is the subject of the second half of the antistrophe; the chorus' celebration of his heroism responds metrically to their lament in the strophe over the ravagings of the Sphinx. And when, in the final line of this ode, the chorus proclaim that Cadmus' slaughter of the dragon, done at the urging of Pallas (1062 ff), has been the source of the curse that has come upon this land, the word *ἀρπαγαῖσι* (1066) refers (as editors remark) to both the ravagings of the Sphinx and Menoeceus' suicide. As the ancient commentator notes: *καὶ γὰρ ἡ Σφίγξ ἤρπαζεν, ὃ δὲ Μενοικεὺς πέπονθέ τι ὅμοιον*. In the scene that preceded this ode Teiresias had made the connection explicit:

δεῖ τόνδε θαλάμῃς, οὗ δράκων ὁ γηγενὴς
ἐγένετο Δίρκης ναμάτων ἐπίσκοπος,
σφαγέντα φόνιον αἷμα γῇ δοῦναι χοὰς
Κάδμου, παλαιῶν Ἄρεος ἐκ μηνιμάτων,
ὃς γηγενεῖ δράκοντι τιμωρεῖ φόνον.

(931–935)

The primordial battle must be fought again, since Cadmus' initial victory was no true defeat or destruction of the forces represented by the

⁴⁹ Pearson's insistence (above, n.8) ad loc. that *μίασμα* must refer to the murder of Laius ("μίασμα is always used in connection with the pollution of bloodshed") is controverted by line 1050 of the play, where the reference is clearly to the incest, not to the murder of Laius.

dragon, as the immediate generation from its sown teeth of the armed band of warriors had shown. When the threat reappeared in the form of the Sphinx, Oedipus' victory was similarly followed by the generation of a further opposing force in the persons of his sons. In the final and culminating battle the dragon of Ares resumes the demand for blood. But, in the course of the cyclical repetitions, the savagery has intensified: the demand is now for human blood. The mutual slaughter of the brothers is a more complex representation of the last phase of the cycle. Here, too, the "beasts" take human form. The brothers are characterized as animals (*δίδυμοι θῆρες* 1296)⁵⁰ and Menoeceus, by virtue of his descent, is linked with the dragon.⁵¹ Both the brothers and Menoeceus symbolize in themselves the paradox which is the theme of the choral odes: taken together (as they are in the final ode: *δίδυμα τέκνα*, etc.) they are the defenders/destroyers of the city; Menoeceus, last child of the monster of Ares, is at one and the same time the city's salvation. The brothers' struggle follows the sacrifice of Menoeceus and so makes it clear that, even when all direct links with the beast are broken, the savage element survives in purely human form. And so it is only with the brothers', not with Menoeceus', death that the cycle is completed.

But these last two phases of the cycle are part of the action of the play as well as of the thematic structure of the choral odes. And so they provide the point of contact with the odes which makes them "relevant" to the action of the play, and the odes, on the other hand, provide a background of ideas which gives meaning to these actions.

FOURTH STASIMON (1284-1306)

The chorus' level of excitement in this ode is very high.⁵² They show this by their use of word repetition, interjection (1290), exclamation (1284, 1296), and hysterical outbursts:

⁵⁰ Cf. Conacher (above, n.6) 248: "the likening of the two brothers to two murderous beasts . . . cannot fail to recall those other monsters, the Sphinx and the dragon of Ares, ever lurking in the background."

⁵¹ But the connection of the two houses is also kept in the foreground: "Euripides insists upon the links between the house of Creon and the Labdacids" (Rawson, [above, n.2] 119).

⁵² Riemschneider points to the chorus' shift out of the trochaics, iambs, etc. of their other odes, and into the dochmiacs, anapests, etc., of the *teichoscopia*, as evidence of the disconnection of this stasimon with the "Liederzyklus." Clearly, my interpretation would have it that the metrical shift in this final choral ode facilitates the transition to the monodies of the last part of the play. Lines 1480-1581 and 1710-1757 would thus be the last parts of the lyric cycle, the moment when song and dramatic action merge together into a single unity. The genuineness of much of the last part of the play is greatly disputed.

δίδυμα τέκεα πότερος ἄρα
πότερον αἰμάξει;

(1288-1289)

πό-
τερον ἄρα νέκυν ὀλόμενον ἰαχῆσω;
(1294-1295)

The doubling of words and phrases also has a direct reference to the content of the ode, whose main subject is the duel of the two brothers, *ὁμογενῇ δέραν, ὁμογενῇ φυχάν* (1291), as the chorus call them.

Throughout this ode, as throughout the play itself, the chorus avoid taking sides or espousing the justice of one cause as against the other. In this stasimon their concern is to emphasize the tragedy of the bloody hostility between the brothers. In the strophe they are primarily worried about the one of the two who will perish (regardless of who it is). They evidently consider futile Jocasta's last attempts to avert the disaster. The form of their lament in the antistrophe more correctly anticipates the actual outcome. They call the brothers *δίδυμοι θῆρες* (1296); they use the dual twice (*αἰμάξετον* 1298; *ἡλθέτην* 1300) and so more accurately envision the brothers' fate as one that will be shared in every way. Line 1302 is suggestively ambiguous in meaning: the chorus says: "I shall raise my voice in the dirge which approaches for the dead men" (*νεκροῖς*), but the last word could be understood as an anticipation of the bodies which will shortly appear on stage.

The opening lines of the antistrophe present a contrast which is central to the play's meaning:

φεῦ δᾶ φεῦ δᾶ, δίδυμοι θῆρες,
φόνιαι ψυχὰι δορὶ παλλόμεναι
πέσσεα πέσσεα δαί' αὖ-
τίχ' αἰμάξετον.

(1296-1298)

The contrast is between the brothers as victims and as aggressors. Each of them is both. Each brother commits an act of beastly murder; each suffers death; each brandishes a weapon; each perishes in blood. It is thus in this duel and in this duel alone that the cycle of conflict which we have discussed may be said to have its resolution.⁵³

For here, for the first time in the cyclical repetition, there is neither

⁵³ Modern scholars (e.g., Hartung, *Euripides Restitutus* II [Hamburg 1844] 19; Conacher (above, n.6); Riemschneider (above, n.2); Ebener, "Die Phönizierinnen des Euripides als Spiegelbild geschichtlicher Wirklichkeit," *Eirene* 2

submission nor victory. Rather, each brother represents the beastly spirit of war, each opposes that spirit in the person of the other, and each falls victim to it, triumphing and being conquered at one and the same time. The repressive and the aggressive forces have at last cancelled each other out. The tragic necessity is that only in an agonizing explosion of mutual slaughter was it possible to break the grip of the cycle in which the city had been trapped since its foundation.

The thematic backdrop to the *Phoenissae* is, then, a highly pessimistic evaluation of the conditions for civilized life. The thematic movement of the play reverses that of Aeschylus' *Oresteia*: there, one family's curse grew gradually to encompass the entire city, and Orestes' vindication symbolically affected political life as a whole. But the condition of the peace which Athena negotiated was the deflection outward of "the madness not of wine" (αίνοις ἐμμανεῖς θυμώμασιν):⁵⁴

μήτ' ἐξέδουσ' ὡς καρδίαν ἀλεκτόρων
ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀστοῖσιν ἰδρύσης Ἄρη
ἐμφύλιόν τε καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους θρασύν.
θυραῖος ἔστω πόλεμος.

(*Eum.* 861-864; Wilamowitz [Berlin 1914])

In the *Phoenissae*, by contrast, the curse which originally attached to the city's founder and therefore to the city as a whole gradually narrows its focus so as to affect the last of the city's sons in whom the political spirit survives (Menoeceus), and then the two brothers who attack each other

[1966] 71-79; and Pohlenz, *Die griechische Tragödie*² [Göttingen 1954] 372-381) have sometimes been too quick to rescue the choral odes from their ancient (see above, n.6) and modern (e.g., Hermann [Leipzig 1840], Fraenkel [above, n.6]) detractors by positing a "double" or "two-part" unity for the play. Two sets of complementary but distinct themes are discovered and associated, one with the choral parts of the drama, the other with the episodes. Hartung finds a *duplex fons malorum*, the Sphinx and the anger of Oedipus; Pohlenz isolates the city proper from the house of Oedipus; Riemschneider divides past and present; Ebener opposes "der Untergang des Labdakidenhauses" to "das Schicksal der Stadt Theben"; and Conacher describes the play as "a series of paradoxical confrontations of the world of myth . . . and the 'real' world of Euripidean drama," in which the chorus is both detached from the play and vital to it. The fourth choral ode pays the price for these neat dichotomies: it is kept out of the cycle of choral odes on the charge of having "too much" to do with the immediate concerns of the play. From my point of view the choral odes are throughout tied more and more closely to the episodes which surround them, and into which they finally merge.

⁵⁴ For the implied association of Ares and Dionysus, see above, n.36.

in a frenzy like fighting cocks. The progressive demoralization in the play which culminates in the brothers' duel exposes the weakness and vulnerability of political virtues. Under the pressure of their struggle for domination values collapse in much the same way as Thucydides described for Corcyra during the civil strife (*ὡμῇ <ῆ> στάσις*) of 427.⁵⁵ But where Thucydides unequivocally traced the cause of such strife to the character of human nature itself, Euripides in this play locates the roots of the disorder in the necessity for violence which lies behind the founding of the city. He seems to have felt, as Aeschylus did not, that the aggressive impulse could not be permanently turned outward. The tableaux of despair which constitute the final scenes of such plays as the *Bacchae*, the *Hippolytus*, or the *Hercules Furens* and the *Phoenissae*, suggest the futility of an attempt to escape the impulses toward chaos and destruction. Such a notion, however, is by no means bleakly and single-mindedly pessimistic: as the interrelation between Cadmus' slaughter of the dragon and the brothers' killings indicates, these drives are only the darker side of the hero's saving power, the wild edge of civilization's order, the malignant aspect of the god's beneficence. If, as Walter Burkert suggests,⁵⁶ the hunting and killing of animals is the first civilizing act, the first sublimation of "intraspecific aggression," then our play represents the de-sublimation of these instincts. In the final act of murder, brothers turn against each other.⁵⁷

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

⁵⁵ Several critics have been struck by the parallels and similarities with Thucydides: J. de Romilly, "Les *Phéniciennes* d'Euripide, ou l'actualité dans la tragédie grecque," *Rev. Phil.* 39 (1965) 28-47 (= "Phoenician Women of Euripides: Topicality in Greek Tragedy," *Bucknell Review* 15 [1967] 108-132), and J. Finley, "Euripides and Thucydides," in *Three Essays on Thucydides* (Cambridge, Mass. 1967) 1-54 (= *HSCP* 49 [1938] 23-68).

⁵⁶ Above, n.15. See especially 20-38, and Burkert's discussions of Lorenz and Freud. It will be evident that I disagree strongly with Rawson's characterization (above, n.2) 126 of the "fatherland theme" (*γῆ* and *χθών*) as a "strangely a-political conception," implying that "his [Euripides'] own love for his country was now rather a mystical feeling for the Attic countryside, rather than any trust in the political virtues to which Athens had . . . aspired."

⁵⁷ In Freud's scheme (as articulated in *Totem and Taboo* [New York 1950]) the brothers escape their mutual hostility by turning it against the father; the pattern is similar to the one which Burkert presents, as he recognizes: "Freud's Intuition, wonach am Anfang der menschlichen Entwicklung der 'Vatermord' steht, bestätigt sich von hier aus in gewissem Masse, freilich nicht im Sinn eines historisch realen Verbrechens, sondern in der Funktion ritueller Symbolik und korrespondierender Seelenstrukturen" (p. 89).

The author wishes to thank Professor Mark Griffith for his helpful and detailed criticism of an earlier draft of this article.

THUCYDIDES 2.65.8: ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΩΣ

LOWELL EDMUNDS AND RICHARD MARTIN

IN 2.65.8, Thucydides says of Pericles, κατεῖχε τὸ πλῆθος ἐλευθέρως. The meaning of the adverb has never been definitely established. Does it refer to the objective conditions of Pericles' rule, i.e., to the freedom of the Athenians under democracy? Greek idiom allows this interpretation of the adverb,¹ and translators and commentators have, in fact, usually interpreted it in this way. For example, Charles Forster Smith in the Loeb Classical Library: Pericles "restrained the multitude while respecting their liberties."² Or does the adverb refer to Pericles'

¹ Kühner-Gerth, *GG* II 114: "Die durch das Adverb ausgedrückte nähere Bestimmung des Prädikats kann oft mittelbar auf das Subjekt oder Objekt des Satzes bezogen werden, sodass statt des Adverbs ein auf das Subjekt oder Objekt bezogenes Adjektiv stehen könnte"; Schwyzer, *GG* II 415. Without citing these places, but with several good examples of his own, W. L. Lorimer, "Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 1243 f.," *CR* n.s. 11 (1961) 187-188 discusses a related idiom. He shows that in the *Ag.* passage κλύοντ' ἀληθῶς = κλύοντ' ἀληθῆ, thus defending Fraenkel's interpretation against that of Denniston and Page. Lorimer concludes with a remark on Thuc. 2.65.8, by which he allies himself with the interpretations cited in our n.2.

² C. F. Smith, *Thucydides, History of the Peloponnesian War* I, rev. ed. (Books 1 and 2, Cambridge, Mass. 1928) 377. Also Heinrich Weinstock, *Polis* (Berlin 1934) 100: "die Masse in Freiheit niederzuhalten vermochte." Jacqueline de Romilly, *Thucydide: La guerre du Péloponnèse*, Book 2 (Paris 1962) 48: "tenait-il la foule, quoique libre, bien en main" (cf. her note on this passage, p. 101). B. Jowett, *Thucydides* I (Oxford 1881) 137: "was able to control the multitude in a free spirit." Johannes Classen and Julius Steup, *Thukydides* II, 5th ed. (1914) 175 on the adverb: "in freier Weise, ohne die in Verfassung und Sitte begründete Freiheit zu beschränken." E. C. Marchant, *Thucydides: Book II* (London 1891) 211 on the adverb: "while respecting their liberty." T. R. Mills, *Thucydides: Histories, Book II* (Oxford 1913) 59 on the adverb: "not despotically, but in the spirit of a true citizen."

Commentators have found support for the usual interpretation of the adverb at 2.65.8 in 3.62.4 where the Thebans describe a clique in their city at the time of the Persian Wars as κατέχοντες ἰσχύι τὸ πλῆθος. ἰσχύς is not, however, the antonym of ἐλευθερία, and in any case there was no question of Pericles' ruling the people by force. The "freedom" of Pericles' rule, whatever it was, cannot refer to the people's freedom from coercion, since this degree of freedom is surely to be assumed.

manner of leadership, i.e., to the freedom of Pericles himself in the conduct of his office? Crawley, one of the few to choose this alternative, translated: "Pericles . . . was enabled to exercise an independent control over the multitude."³ The difference between these two interpretations is obviously great. The decision between them will inevitably have consequences for the understanding of Thucydides' concept of Pericles and of Athenian democracy.

An analysis of the context of ἐλευθέρως in 2.65.8 will provisionally establish the meaning of the adverb; the meaning to be proposed on this basis will be confirmed by a study of the adverb in other fifth-century writers.

The two halves of 2.65.8 constitute an elaborate and consistent parallelism, which can be illustrated in this form of quotation:

- αἴτιον δ' ἦν ὅτι ἐκεῖνος μὲν
 a δυνατὸς ὦν τῷ τε ἀξιώματι καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ
 b χρημάτων τε διαφανῶς ἀδωρότατος γενόμενος
 c κατεῖχε τὸ πλῆθος ἐλευθέρως
 c καὶ οὐκ ἤγετο μᾶλλον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἢ αὐτὸς ἤγε
 b διὰ τὸ μὴ κτώμενος ἐξ οὐ προσηκόντων τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς ἡδονήν
 τι λέγειν
 a ἀλλ' ἔχων ἐπ' ἀξιώσει καὶ πρὸς ὀργήν τι ἀντειπεῖν.

The parallelism is achieved by various syntactic and stylistic means. First, the four main cola of 2.65.8 are chiasmatically ordered by the syntax: (a-b) a long explanatory participial construction; (c) a short main clause; (c) a short main clause; (b-a) a long explanatory articular infinitive. The relative lengths of these four cola reinforce the syntactic chiasmus. Second, the two halves of 2.65.8 are connected by the "responsive" καί, which "marks an addition to the content of the preceding . . .

³ *The Complete Writings of Thucydides: The Peloponnesian War* (The Modern Library: New York 1934) 120. T. Hobbes, *History of the Grecian War* (London 1822) 107: "he freely controlled the multitude." Cf. A. W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* II (Oxford 1956) 192 on the adverb: "'freely,' i.e., without hesitation, 'as a free man should' . . ." Gomme thus relates the adverb to Pericles' manner of leadership and not to the results of his leadership for the people. But Gomme's translation is inappropriate to the context. Hans Diller, "Freiheit bei Thukydides als Schlagwort und als Wirklichkeit," *Gymnasium* 69 (1962) 189-204 = *Thukydides*, ed. Hans Herter (Darmstadt 1968: Wege der Forschung 98) 639-660 understands 2.65.8 as expressing Pericles' independence *den eigenen Mitbürgern gegenüber* (p. 656).

context.”⁴ In particular, the second main clause adds a negative restatement of the preceding positive statement — a stylistic device found elsewhere in Thucydides.⁵ Third, there is another chiasmus, between the two participles (*a-b*) and the two halves of the articular infinitive (*b-a*). The relationship between the two *a* elements is seen in the variation of ἀξιώματι by ἀξιώσει,⁶ and also in the emphasis on the power of Pericles: δυνατός in *a*₁ and ἔχων in the sense of “to be able” in *a*₂.⁷ The relationship between the two *b* elements is also obvious: in both, Thucydides says that Pericles could not be corrupted by bribery.

In this third aspect of the parallelism between the two halves of 2.65.8, i.e., in the chiasmus *abba*, it is clear that the second half repeats the Periclean qualities of the first half, but with a further specification, namely, the relation of these qualities to oratory (and to nothing else). The importance of Periclean oratory is underlined in the next section (2.65.9), in which Thucydides goes on to offer “part proof”⁸ for what he has just said: “Whenever he saw them inopportunistly carried away with arrogance, he inspired fear in them with his words, and again, when they were unreasonably afraid, he restored them to boldness.”⁹ But *b-a*, with their specification of *a-b*, are offered in explanation of *c*₂, and *c*₂ is a general, negative restatement of *c*₁. Periclean oratory must therefore be implicit in *c*₁ just as in *a-b*, and, in particular, in ἐλευθέρως, which means (cf. 2.65.9) that Pericles spoke freely.

The association of ἐλευθέρως with oratory, implicit in Thucydides 2.65.8, is illustrated by the usage of this adverb in other fifth-century authors. In thirteen fifth-century examples of the adverb outside of Thucydides, it occurs seven times with verbs of speaking,¹⁰ and there

⁴ J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*² (Oxford 1954) 293.

⁵ See J. T. Kakridis, *Der Thukydideische Epitaphios, ein stilistischer Kommentar* (Zetemata 26: Munich 1961) 28 on positive-negative predication.

⁶ On these two related words, see L. Edmunds, *Chance and Intelligence in Thucydides* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975) 54–55.

⁷ We follow Jan Ros, *Die METABOAH (Variatio) als Stilprinzip des Thukydides* (Paderborn 1938) 191 in construing ἔχων as governing not δύναμιν understood but the infinitive ἀντειπεῖν.

⁸ Denniston (n.4, above) 451.

⁹ Translation as in Edmunds (n.6, above) 14.

¹⁰ The two examples of ἐλευθέρως with a verb of speaking which are not quoted in the text are E. Alc. 1008; Soph. frag. 192.1 Pearson = 193N². On this fragment, see now Robert Renehan, *Studies in Greek Texts* (Hypomnemata 43: Göttingen 1976) 56–57. The examples of ἐλευθέρως with other verbs in the fifth century are Soph. El. 1301; E. Heracl. 559, Or. 1170, fr. 245 N², Pirithous in POxy. 17 (1927), 2078, frs. 2, 3.36; A. Ekk. 1145. ἐλευθερίως occurs in Dem. fr. A166 D.-K. II 129.

are many related expressions, e.g., ἐλεύθερα βάζειν (A. Pers. 593).¹¹ In such contexts, the adverb means, "without restraint, freely."¹² Since the entry in LSJ⁹ s.v. ἐλεύθερος does not reveal the affinity of the adverb for verbs of speaking, we shall give several examples:

(a) Hdt. 5.93.2 Σωκλέος ἤκουσαν εἵπαντος ἐλευθέρως ("they heard Sosicles speaking without restraint"). Unlike the rest of the Spartan allies, who disapproved of the Spartan plan to restore the tyrant Hippias but kept silence (5.92.1), the Corinthian Sosicles spoke out in an antityrannical speech, and his boldness caused the rest to break their silence (5.93.2).

(b) Hdt. 7.46.1 Ἀρτάβανος ὁ πάτρως, ὃς τὸ πρῶτον γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐλευθέρως ("Artabanus, his uncle, the one who had previously declared his opinion without restraint"). So Herodotus characterizes Artabanus, who alone of Xerxes' counsellors tried to persuade him not to invade Greece (7.8–11).

(c) Hdt. 8.73.3 εἰ δὲ ἐλευθέρως ἔξεστι εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι ἐμῆδιζον ("if I may speak freely, they medized by remaining neutral"). So Herodotus concludes a digression on certain peoples in the Peloponnesus.

(d) A. Nub. 518–519 κατερῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλευθέρως / τὰληθῇ ("I shall speak the truth freely to you"). This is Aristophanes in the first line of the parabasis after the *kommation*. He states his intention to express frankly his dismay at the ill-success of the first production of his comedy.

(e) E. Cyc. 287 ἱκετεύομέν τε καὶ λέγομεν ἐλευθέρως ("We supplicate you and we speak freely"). Odysseus here declares to the Cyclops that, although they are suppliants, they will advise him of his duties to them.

In these examples, ἐλευθέρως with a verb of speaking or the like occurs in situations in which the speakers might be expected to keep silence or to conceal their true opinion, but say what they believe without fear of the consequences. It is precisely in this respect that Thucydides contrasts Pericles with his successors in 2.65.8–11. Pericles is distin-

¹¹ Cf. ἐλεύθερον λόγον S. Tr. 63; ἐλεύθερον στόμα S. El. 1256; ἐλευθερωτέρη ὑπόκρισις Hdt. 1.116; the verb ἐλευθεροστομέω A. Pr. 180; E. Andr. 153; ἐλευθεροστόμου γλώσσης A. Supp. 948–949.

¹² For the etymology of ἐλεύθερος, see Émile Benveniste, *Le vocabulaire des institutions Indo-Européennes* I (Paris 1969) 321 ff. The Latin *liber* is an almost exact cognate of the Greek word; and *libertas* shows a similar semantic development. See C. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford 1879; rpr. 1951) s.v. *libertas* 1: "Freedom of speech or thought, frankness, boldness, candor." Cf. C. Wirzubski, *Libertas as a Political Idea at Rome During the Late Republic and Early Principate* (Cambridge, UK, 1950) 165.

guished by his oratorical freedom. The adverb in 2.65.8, taken in its context, must refer to Pericles' freedom, in particular his oratorical freedom, vis-à-vis the people, and not to the people's freedom during his ascendancy in Athens.¹³

This interpretation can also be argued in another way. The imperfect κατεῖχε clearly shows continuous action. Thucydides is thus making not an abstract generalization (Pericles dominated the people) but a concrete generalization (Pericles used to keep the people in hand). The conditions of Pericles' power are, then, assumed in the verb. Unless one believes that Pericles cowed the people merely by his stern appearance and the gravity of his manner, how can he have maintained his power over them except through his oratory in the assembly? And what was Pericles' special virtue as an orator but the freedom (ἐλευθέρως) with which he spoke his mind, the freedom which is contrasted in 2.65.9-10 with his successor's subservience to the mob?

An analogous use of κατέχω is to be found in 8.86.5. In this chapter, Thucydides describes the assembly on Samos at which the ambassadors of the Four Hundred attempted to justify the new constitution. He praises Alcibiades for restraining the angry crowd, which wanted to sail immediately to the Piraeus and take control of the city (8.86.4), and goes on to say: "And at that time no one else could have restrained (κατασχεῖν) the crowd but he kept them from sailing and, with harsh words (λοιδορῶν), he turned back the individuals who were angry with the ambassadors" (8.86.5). The verb κατέχω in this passage clearly refers to Alcibiades' verbal restraint of the crowd, and this verbal restraint is specified in one respect by a verb of speaking, λοιδορέω. Even if the participle λοιδορῶν were omitted it would be certain that in 8.86.5 Thucydides is describing a feat of oratory; and similarly in 2.65.8 κατεῖχε describes Pericles the orator.

It remains to discuss Thucydides' use of ἐλευθέρως in its three other occurrences. Two of these have no direct bearing on 2.65.8.¹⁴ The third is 2.37.2, the passage in the Funeral Oration which has sometimes been used as a gloss on 2.65.8. The adverb ἐλευθέρως in 2.37.2 sums up the description of the Athenian constitution that Pericles has just given in 2.37.1. This description is quite paradoxical, in that it presents Athenian

¹³ L. Edmunds (n.6, above) 56 is in error. One could even say that the Athenians' freedom decreased from peacetime as described in 2.65.5 (μετρίως ἐξηγείτο) to wartime as described in 2.65.8 (κατεῖχε τὸ πλῆθος ἐλευθέρως).

¹⁴ 6.85.2; 7.63.4. In 6.85.2 the adverb can be construed with ξυμμάχουοντας and does not refer to the objective condition of the Athenians' rule (ἐξηγούμεθα).

democracy as a mixture of democracy and aristocracy.¹⁵ Furthermore, certain terms in the description (ἀξίωσις, ἀξίωμα) are used elsewhere by Thucydides of Pericles (cf. 2.65.8 with 2.34.6), and the introduction to the description (καὶ ὄνομα μὲν . . . μέτεστι δὲ . . .) finds an unmistakable echo in Thucydides' words in 2.65.9-10 (. . . λόγῳ μὲν δημοκρατία, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχή). In 2.37.1, then, the Periclean praise of Athens, if it is taken with these other passages in which Thucydides speaks of Pericles in the same terms, can be seen as Thucydides' praise of Pericles.

The adverb ἐλευθέρως in 2.37.2 is as ambiguous as the Athenian constitution (with its mixture of democracy and aristocracy) to which the adverb refers. The same adverb in 2.65.8 refers to precisely the same conditions as those intimated in 2.37.1, viz., the rule of Pericles, which was provided for by the aristocratic side of the constitution. If this one adverb were the only point of connection between the two places, we might be accused of overreading; but both passages contain the two words ἀξίωσις and ἀξίωμα,¹⁶ and the similar antitheses with which one begins and the other is summed up (2.37.1, 2.65.9-10, quoted above) surely connect the two passages.

ἐλευθέρως in 2.65.8 thus can be harmonized with the notion of rule by the first man. Thuc. 2.65 is as a whole encomiastic as regards Pericles (consider especially 2.65.5) and elegiac as regards Athens (2.65.11-12). The plain sense of Thucydides' assertions reveal their tone, and the notion that Thucydides is here making merely "historical" as distinguished from political or personal judgments is extravagant.¹⁷ The freedom of Pericles is something admired by Thucydides and is a reflection of his opinion of Athenian democracy. Thucydides obviously had no use for democracy in the sense of the rule of the many as opposed to the few (2.65.4; 4.28.3; 6.63.2; 8.1.4). As for democracy in which all male citizens have an equal share, democracy as *isonomia*, there is no evidence that Thucydides had any admiration for this constitutional form *as such*. He admired Periclean Athens but it is not clear that he regarded the historical greatness of Athens as the result of her democratic constitution. We have even found some indications that he regarded this greatness

¹⁵ Helmuth Vretska, "Perikles und die Herrschaft des Würdigsten — Thuk. II 37, 1," *RM NF* 109 (1966) 108-120; L. Edmunds (n.6, above) 47-55.

¹⁶ On the difference in meaning, see L. Edmunds (n.6, above) 53-54.

¹⁷ Otto Luschnat, "Thukydides," *RE Suppl.* 12 (1971) cols. 1242-1246 applies this distinction to various problems in 2.65. He fails to see the importance of Vretska's article (col. 1246).

as having come into being through the aristocratic element in the constitution.

In conclusion, we should like to suggest that our interpretation of ἐλευθέρως in 2.65.8 tends to qualify the usual picture of the intellectual-political development of Thucydides. It has usually been thought the historian's obvious admiration for Pericles implies a break with family tradition and a conversion to democracy.¹⁸ But if Thucydides presents Pericles himself as praising, however indirectly, the aristocratic element in the constitution (2.37.1-2), and if Thucydides then echoes this passage in his praise of Pericles (2.65.8), then it is surely improper to equate Thucydides' admiration for Pericles with conversion to democracy. On the contrary, it could be argued that the Thucydidean portrait of Pericles, verging on idealization,¹⁹ itself shows a deep distrust of democracy, which could not preserve itself in the absence of a strong leader (2.65.10). Pericles' one-man rule (2.65.9-10) resembled that of Thucydides' putative ancestors in Thrace, with the difference that Pericles exercised his rule through oratory in a democratic assembly. Line 2.65.8 shows that, in Thucydides' view, it was precisely in and through his oratory that Pericles remained true to an older, non-democratic tradition while guiding the affairs of the democracy.²⁰

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

¹⁸ J. H. Finley, Jr., *Thucydides* (Cambridge, Mass., 1947) 19-20, 24, 30-31, 32. The same view will be found once again in the *RE* article by Luschnat (n.17) col. 1091: "Es ist für unser Verständnis des Werkes nicht gleichgültig zu wissen, aus welcher Familie Th. stammte . . . Th. gehörte also in den Kimonischen Clan, der in scharfem Gegensatz zur Politik des siegreichen Volksführers Perikles stand. Dann aber muss es als auffällig erscheinen, dass er sich in diesem Werk weitgehend hinter die Politik des Perikles stellt, und eine bewusste Entscheidung des jungen Th. für Perikles ist als sicher anzunehmen. *Das ist dann vor allem eine politische Entscheidung gewesen . . .*" (our italics).

¹⁹ See Joseph Vogt, "Das Bild des Perikles bei Thukydides," *Historische Zeitschrift* 182 (1956) 249-266.

²⁰ We are grateful to Professor Glen W. Bowersock for helpful criticisms of an earlier draft of this paper.

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SIGILLATA B WARE

JAMES F. WRABETZ

IN 1904, R. Zahn published a noteworthy and important stamping of Caius Sentius from Priene.¹ The character of the potter's mark, in and of itself, was not unusual. Among the better known and more prolific of the terra sigillata masters of Arretium, Caius Sentius and the several forms of his stamping were well attested. The rectangularly framed, ligatured potter's mark C\SENT of Priene duplicated a type already familiar to the student of Roman pottery. What distinguished and set apart the Priene stamping from those other examples was the clearly non-Western, non-Arretine manufacture of the sherd which bore it. The gloss and fabric defined the sherd as "Samian" or Eastern Sigillata B pottery. According to Zahn, the production center of the ware lay in the East, probably in the area of Asia Minor.²

The Priene stamping documented the venture of Caius Sentius or at least his firm into an Eastern Sigillata B enterprise. Since Arretium did not seem to have been forsaken for Asia Minor, Zahn postulated that the Eastern Sigillata B shop was subsidiary to the main concern in Italy.³ In addition to the Priene sherd, other products of the Sentius affiliate have been discovered at Ephesos, Corinth, and most recently Sardis.⁴ Along with these may be mentioned a handful of Latin stampings, notably those of Plusius and Blastus Munatus, whose authors may or may not have been Italian based colleagues of Sentius.⁵ Since Arretine careers for these potters are unevidenced or sparsely represented, the role

¹ R. Zahn, "Thongeschirr" in *Priene, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895-1898* ed. Theodor Wiegand and Hans Schrader (Berlin 1904) 437, no. 153 and abb. 551.

² Zahn (above, n.1) 446.

³ Zahn (above, n.1) 445.

⁴ R. Heberdey, "Kleinfunde" in *Forschungen in Ephesos veröffentlicht vom Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut I*, ed. Otto Benndorf (Vienna 1906) 168-169, nos. 5-7; John W. Hayes, "Roman Pottery from the South Stoa at Corinth," *Hesperia* 42 (1973) 468 n.4; Sardis P 64.303 (6408) unpublished.

⁵ Zahn (above, n.1) 443-444.

they played in the East remains one of conjecture. To date, no Italian manufacturer of Caius Sentius' stature has emerged from the published Eastern Sigillata B potters.

That the Western interest in the East amounted to more than the eccentric investment of a single firm is confirmed by an Eastern Sigillata B cup base, P 60.150 (2438) from Sardis. Measuring five centimeters in diameter and seventeen millimeters in height, the sherd possesses the diagnostic orange red (Munsell 2.5 YR 4/8), lustrous gloss and orange red (Munsell 2.5 YR 6/8), micaceous fabric. The offset, conical base bears a shallow channel on the bottom of the ringfoot which traces its circumference.⁶ A second such groove girds the exterior surface of the foot. In the center of the cup's concave floor was impressed the potter's mark of Quintus Pompeius Serenus.

Like Sentius, Serenus figures as one of the more prominent of Italy's Early Imperial terra sigillata potters. The site of Serenus' main pottery has been attributed to Puteoli.⁷ In the strict sense, the master cannot be considered Arretine. However, the term Arretine is often extended to include the red gloss pottery and potters of Puteoli because of the close stylistic similarities between the wares of both centers. In the course of a lengthy career, Serenus adopted several forms for his stamping. That which graces the Sardian Eastern Sigillata B sherd reproduces precisely one of these types.⁸ Set within a circular frame, the sunken disc of the stamping's field blazons the cognomen of the potter. The use of the genitive case allowed the division of the name into two triads of letters, SER/ENI, which are posed in tiered horizontal rows. As an added flourish, Serenus, somewhat immodestly, awarded himself a wreath which lies just within the circuit of the frame and encircles the inscription. Both corona and characters are raised in low relief. In diameter the stamping measures 12 millimeters and the letter size ranges from 2.5 millimeters to 3 millimeters.

P 60.150, then, represents a cognate of the Priene sherd. The precise Eastern Sigillata B replication of the Italian trademark recalls that of the Sentius sherds and bespeaks the existence of a similar subsidiary for

⁶ The terms offset and conical are Henry Robinson's and describe bases which are "separated by one or more ridges from the inside surface of the foot" and have "the shape of an inverted cone"; see Henry S. Robinson, *The Athenian Agora V: Pottery of the Roman Period, Chronology* (Princeton 1959) 7.

⁷ August Oxe, *Corpus Vasorum Arretinorum: A Catalogue of the Signatures, Shapes, and Chronology of Italian Sigillata*, ed. Howard Comfort (Bonn 1968) 340, nos. 1354-1359.

⁸ Oxe (above, n.7) 341 no. 1357.



P.60.150.2438



1
0

1 cm

Serenus. The Eastern Sigillata B tradition appears to have been particularly receptive to Italian influence. To a great extent, the forms and features of the ware are derived from Arretine models. In a recent article in *Hesperia*, John W. Hayes has proposed that the Eastern Sigillata B industry was not only inspired, but actually created by Arretine potters.⁹ The early phases of the ware, as indeed its entire history, remain nebulous and the role that the Western investments played in the formulation of the style, speculative. As yet, a firm date for the first appearance of the ware has not been established. The Sentius stampings, probably, represent some of the earlier products of the Eastern Sigillata B shops.¹⁰ The rectangular frames of the stampings characterize Arretine potter's marks of the late Augustan and early Tiberian years. Adopted by the Eastern Sigillata B craftsmen, the rectangular frame became standard for their potter's marks. In contrast to the Sentius stampings and the majority of Eastern Sigillata B name stampings, the Sardinian potter's mark of Serenus possesses a circular frame. The Italian counterparts of the type are Augustan and establish Serenus as one of the early manufacturers of the Eastern Sigillata B pottery and a pioneer of its style.¹¹ Thus P 60.150 reinforces the probability that the Eastern Sigillata B ware owes its origins to Arretine forces.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

⁹ Hayes (above, n.4) 468.

¹⁰ John W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery: A Catalogue of Roman Fine Wares* (London 1972) 9.

¹¹ Howard Comfort, "Terra Sigillata from Minturnae," *American Journal of Archaeology* 47 (1943) 327-328.

ON VALERIUS FLACCUS

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THE passages are cited as they stand in E. Courtney's Teubner text of 1970.¹

Jason admires the paintings with which Argus has embellished the ship; but his thoughts turn to the dangers ahead.

1.149 haec quamquam miranda *minus* stupet Aesone natus
 et secum "heu miseros nostrum natosque patresque.
 hacine nos animae faciles rate nubila contra
 mittimur?"

minus in this much debated passage is Jacobs' hesitant conjecture for *uiris*. Langen reads *mirata* (passive) for *miranda*: "non id agitur, quid viri mirari *debeant*, sed quid re vera mirentur, cum Iason longe alio sensu commoveatur." An idle cavil, as may be seen from *vox horrenda viris* on the next page (210). But the difficulties which *minus* and Pius' *nec* (for *haec*) aim to resolve, namely the opposition between *stupet*, which despite Langen obviously governs *haec*, and *et secum* sqq., along with the superfluity of *et*, are real enough. The right answer, *at* for *et*, was proposed by Heinsius and practically ignored ever since, presumably because nobody (apparently not even Heinsius himself) called to mind the quite common apodotic use of *at* after a concessive clause; cf. *Thes.* 2.1006.71. There should be a comma after *natus* — and, of course, a mark of exclamation after *patresque*. "Though Jason is amazed at these marvels, yet . . ."

1.156 talia iactanti laevum Iovis armiger aethra
 advenit et validis fixam *erigit* unguibus agnam.

erigit, which properly means "set upright," has no real authority, depending only on derivative manuscripts, while in V *git* follows an erasure on which a corrector has written the letters *ue*. Langen's *egerit* (sc. *e stabulis*), anticipated anonymously in Harles' note, is scarcely any better, and I am not attracted by *vehit* (Heinsius) or *evehit* (Burg). I

¹ I am grateful to my colleague, Professor Wendell Clausen, for some helpful criticisms.

think Valerius wrote *legit* or *eligit*, "plucks out" (sc. *e grege*). For *lego* (*eligo, deligo*) = *vello*, see Dougan on Cic. *Tusc.* 3.83 and my *Propertiana*, p. 127 (on *altaque mortali deligere astra manu*).

In his prayer to Neptune Jason pleads that the expedition is not his doing but his uncle's.

1.200 ne Peliae te vota trahant; ille aspera iussa
 repperit et Colchos in me luctumque meorum.
 †illumetu† tantum non indignantibus undis
 hoc caput accipias et pressam regibus alnum.

Courtney's apparatus reads: "202 sic V sub ras. ut vid., illo metu S: inmeritum ego, sed nunc malim †illumetu† tu scribere." Kramer marks a lacuna after *tantum*, while Burman, Schenkl, and Langen favor an aposiopesis, *ille mihi* — or *illum ego* —. Perhaps *ille movet*, i.e., *ille Colchos in me movet* (cf. *Thes.* 8.1543.77) *et luctum meorum movet* (rather than *in me et luctum meorum Colchos movet*).

Mars backs Sol's protest against the expedition. Pallas and Juno deplore their complaints.

1.528 adfremit his quassatque caput qui vellera dono
 Bellipotens sibi fixa videt, *temptataque* contra
 Pallas et amborum gemuit Saturnia questus.

"*tentata contra* quid sibi velit, haud video" (Heinsius). *temptataque* is better taken with *vellera* than with *Pallas*, but I should be happier with *testataque*; cf. 5.623 *questuque Iovem testatur acerbo*. Understand *et contra testatae* (sc. *Iovem*) *Pallas et Saturnia amborum questus gemuerunt*.

1.551 quae classe dehinc effusa procorum
 bella, quot ad *Troiam* flentes hiberna Mycenae,
 quot proceres natosque deum, quae robora cernes
 oppetere et magnis Asiam concedere fati!

"*Mycenae* sueta metonymia scriptum pro militibus Mycenensibus, ut I, 19 et VII, 496 *Graecia* pro Graecis; I, 589 *flens Oenotria* . . ." (Langen). When I find an example of *quot Graeciae* for *quot Graeci* I shall burn my books. Read *ad Troiae*, proposed by Pius, disapproved by Heinsius, and since ignored. For the genitive cf. Liv. 32.39.4 *ex hibernis Corcyrae*, *Thes.* 6.2690.64. For *flentes Mycenae*, "weeping for (their lost) Mycenae," cf. *Il. Lat.* 13 *Chryses . . . raptae flevit solacia natae*, Hor.

1:645

mali clamores seems hardly conceivable Latin for "cries of affliction" (Mozley). Perhaps substitute *aliis*. The cheerful shouts of the sailors (*clamor nauticus*; cf. 1.186, Virg. *Aen.* 3.128, etc.) would change to cries of despair. I find this anticipated in Harles' note, which explains "hoc est similibus [*sic*] eorum, qui nunc audiuntur, sic 4.575." But in that passage *alio clamore ruunt* is rightly translated "with new uproar they are rushing on."

I.755

“Looks around, wondering what move to make” is quite in order, but *quid moveat*? would be more lively as an independent question = *quid faciat (agat)*?

1.779

hunc is the sacrificial bull. I suspect that the last letter of *Ditis* is an accretion from the following “s.”

1.785

Perhaps *terrifici . . . tempora sacri*. The bull was still to hand now that the time to perform the rite was come. For *tempora* cf. Luc. 10.505 *nec tempora cladis / perdidit in somnos*, Stat. *Theb.* 3.402 *quis locus insidiis, tacito quae tempora bello*, 4.635 *quodsi adeo placui deflenda in tempora vates*.

Hypsipyle, daughter of the king of Lemnos, saved her father's life by dressing him up as Bacchus and herself as a Bacchanal. Thus they passed safely from Bacchus' temple in the town to a remote forest, where the old man lay in hiding. But what next? She could not repeat the masquerade.

2.282

non similes iam ferre choros (semel orgia fallunt)
audet, non *patrios furiis* accendere saltus,
et fuga diversas misero quaerenda per artes.

furiis Courtney, *furtis* V. Nobody appears to have seen any difficulty in *patrios*. To me the rendering "the glen that hides her father" (Mozley) seems illegitimate and the natural sense, "her native glens," pointless. I suggest *paribus* (i.e., *quales in urbe accenderat*). The argument that *furtis* cannot mean *furtim* thus becomes inapplicable, but *furiis* remains "überzeugend" (W. W. Ehlers, *Lustrum* 16 [1974] 127) against *paribus furtis accedere* because Hypsipyle's problem is not how to reach the forest but how to get her father out of it into safety. Courtney compares Virg. *Aen.* 7.392 *furiisque accensas pectore matres* and Val. Fl. 3.590 *furiis accensa gerens Tirynthius ora*. Add for the context Ov. *Her.* 4.47 *Bacchi furiis Eleleides actae*, Stat. *Theb.* 1.328 *Ogygiis . . . furoribus*, et sim.

2.462 constitit Alcides visuque enisus in alta
 rupe truces manicas defectaque virginis ora
 cernit et ad *primos* turgentia lumina fletus

turgentia lumina Itali, *surgentia flumina* V. *fletus* S, *flectus* V, *fluctus* m. The problem with this vulgate, as it may be called although Langen has *adsiduo . . . fletu* (Koch) and Kramer (presumably *pietatis ergo*) Sudhaus' *flexus* ("sc. capitis"), is *primos*. Hesione had been selected as the monster's victim, brought and chained to the cliff, and left to await her fate. She was not likely to restrain her tears until the arrival of her rescuer. Nor would her eyes be swelling if she were only just beginning to weep; cf. Catull. 3.18 *flendo turgiduli rubent ocelli*, Tib. 1.8.68 *et tua iam fletu lumina fessa tument* (Prop. 1.21.3 *quid nostro gemitu turgentia lumina torques?*, adduced by Courtney, seems to refer to anger rather than grief; cf. my *Propertiana*, pp. 58 f). Yet *fletus*, and therefore *turgentia*, can hardly be doubted in view of the parallel description of Andromeda in Ov. *Met.* 4.673 *nisi quod levis aura capillos / moverat et tepido manabant lumina fletu, / marmoreum ratus esset opus* (Valerius too goes on to compare Hesione to a statue). Palaeographically the best answer is *pronus*; cf. Manil. 3.359, Stat. *Ach.* 2.117. While I can quote no parallel for *pronus* = *decurrrens* with reference to tears, the analogy of *proni amnes* may be thought sufficient to cover it; cf. Virg. *Georg.* 1.203 *prono rapit alveus amni*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.29.11 *pronos rivos*, *Epist.* 1.10.21 *pronus . . . rivum*, Quint. *Inst.* 9.4.61 *velut prono decurrentis orationis flumine*. The Thesaurus quotes only one example of *decurro* with reference to tears, Sen. *Epist.* 63.1; *defluo* is less rare.

After his daughter's rescue Laomedon is reluctant to part with the promised reward, the magic horses. He addresses Hercules *torva tuens*

2.563 quot mihi post lacrimas, post quanta piacula patrum
serus ades, quam parva tuis iam *gloria* factis!

On one side of Cyzicus, says its eponymous king, are the savages of the mainland, on the other the raging sea.

I find in *Thes.* 6.2805 f nothing altogether parallel to this *hinc* with no *inde* or equivalent to follow. *meque* could well be spared to make room.

In the night battle between the Doliones and the Argonauts one Phlegyas comes against the latter brandishing a torch. Hercules shoots him down.

- 3.133 tollitur hinc *totusque ruit* Tirynthius *acri*
 pectore, certa regens adversa spicula flamma;
 135 per piceos accensa globos et pectus harundo
 per medium contenta fugit; ruit ille comanti
 ore facem supra maiorque apparuit ignis.
 Ambrosium Peleus, ingentem Ancaeus Echeclum
 sternit *et* elatae propius succedere dextrae
 140 Teleocoonta sinit †*delicataque*† ora securi
 disiecit cervice tenus.

Line 133 is a mess. Heinsius' *acri* for *arcu* of V (he also proposed *hirto*) is not a natural epithet for *pectore*, which presumably has thus to be taken as = *animo*. *totusque* (*tentoque* (*arcu*) Baehrens) *ruit* could be said of a boxer "going all out" (Courtney compares *ruit omnis* in Stat. *Theb.* 6.767), but "what marksman that ever lived 'rushed' or 'plunged' while he was shooting?" (Postgate, *Journ. Phil.* 27 [1900] 254). Note *ruit* again in 136. I do not think that *pectore* can be taken with *regens*, despite Schenkl quoted by Langen: "die rechte Hand wird mit der Sehne bis zur Brust zurückgezogen, so dass der Ausdruck pectore c. r. sp. wohl denkbar ist." I have wondered about *tollitur hinc, totoque subit Tirynthius arcu* (dat.) / *pectore*. Hercules gets behind the bow with his whole chest, i.e., ready to use all his muscle.

For *et* in 139 perhaps read *at*.

delicataque has given rise to *duplicataque* (Heinsius, read by Langen and Bury; it is not easy to imagine a man cloven down to the neck by more than a single blow), *deductaque* (Itali), *destrictaque* (Reuss), *geminataque* (Thilo), *delataque* (Schenkl), *derecetaque* (Courtney; *dir-* Burman), to every conceivable word, it might almost be said, except the right one, which I take to be *librataque*; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 8.487 *ignaro cui tunc Thebana bipennis / in galeam librata venit*, Sil. 2.189 *saevumque bipennem / perlibrans mediae fronti*. *delicata* may have developed from a transposition of the first two syllables of *liberata* (ex *librata*); cf. Housman, *Manilius* I, lvii f, Courtney, xxxiv.

- 3.229 tardumque a moenibus agmen
 increpitat "nunquamne dolor virtusve subibit
 nil ausas sine rege manus? at barbara buxus
 si vocet et motis ululantia Dindyma sacris,
 tunc ensis placeatque furor, modo tela sacerdos
 porrigat et iussa sanguis exuberet ulna."

It would appear more logical to take *exuberet* as coordinate with *placeat*, with comma after *porrigat*.

Read *nullisque*?

nemorum S, *nemorumque* V, *numerus* Withof. Courtney refers to Housman on Manil. 1.429, but if Housman had dwelt longer on the passage I cannot think he would have tolerated *nemorum*. Perhaps read *numero effigieque*. The trunks corresponded in number and appearance to the slain Doliones (i.e., they bore the arms appropriate to each); cf. Ascon. 62.19 (Clark) *simulacra effigie hominum ex faeno fieri solebant*.

Juno speaks of Hercules' rescue of Hesione.

pulso Columbus, *pulchro* V. “Repelling the sea” for “repelling the sea-monster” is not an attractive metonymy. Most emendators here have assailed *pulchro* (*placido*, the most recent attempt [Strand], is ascribed in Harles’ note to the margin of ed. Bononiensis), but in view of Hesione’s involvement this is the word to build on. It calls for an allusion to the monster’s prey, and that has been provided by Robinson Ellis: “read *penso*.” *pensum* = *pensio* is not attested elsewhere, but there is nothing in principle to be said against it. *solutum* = *solutio* seems to be found only in the Digest; and Statius has *dignas pendere grates* (*Theb.* 11.223). It must not be objected to this reading that it makes nonsense of *reserantem*, which is inappropriate anyhow. Neither the monster nor its destroyer was *besieging* Troy. Read *relevantem*?

quia Heinsius, vulg., *qui* V. *quae*, ascribed by Heinsius to Regius and by Burman to two of the earliest printed editions, has been neglected for centuries, perhaps once again because nobody has explained how to construe it; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 11.343 *rem nulli obscuram . . . consulis*, Cic. *Fam.* 10.22.2 *ea quae consulebantur*, *Thes.* 4.577.40. *variant* is transitive. “Deliberate because you are worried” is not a natural thing to say; “deliberate about what is worrying you” is.

While Hercules searches for Hylas in the hinterland the Argonauts want to proceed without him.

3.628 dixerat; at studiis iamdudum *freta* iuventus
 orat inire vias.

studiis freta is explained by Langen "freta se suis studiis suoque ardore expeditionem ad felicem exitum perducturam," on which I can find nothing more to say than "no." Following J. A. Wagner, "*studiis partium, factionibus*," Mozley renders "long since confident of their intrigue." But the poem has nothing about an intrigue, nor is this a natural way to take *studiis*; 5.624 *quae studiis, rex magne, quies?* refers to the zeal of the various deities on behalf of their human favorites. And *freta*, which Wagner understands as = *dedita*, is inept.

flexa (Sudhaus) may be right. In 598 the Argonauts are said to be unswervingly loyal to Hercules. In 699 ff Telamon reminds them of their earlier sentiments: *non hi tum flatus, non ista superbia dictis / . . . cunctus ad Alciden versus favor*. For the ablative *studiis* cf. Tac. *Ann.* 4.54.2 *non vultu aut sermone flecti*. But I think it rather more likely that Valerius wrote *fluxa*; cf. Sil. 8.16 *ingenio fluxi sed prima feroces, / vaniloquum Celtae genus ac mutabile mentis, / respectare domos*.

Hylas to Hercules.

4.26 hoc nemus *heu* fatis mihi iam domus; improba *quae* me
 nymphā rapit saevae monitu Iunonis in *amnes*
 nunc Iovis accessus et iam mihi limina caeli
 conciliat

heu D'Orville, *haec* V. *haec vallis* Courtney. *quae* Köstlin, *quo* V. *amnes* V, *amne* Bury. I wonder about the possibility of *hoc nemus, hoc* (abl.) *fatis mihi iam domus, improba quo me / nymphā rapit saevae monitu Iunonis, in amne. nunc* sqq., i.e., *iam mihi domus est hoc nemus, iam domus est hoc in amne*; cf. Auson. 11.20.6 *nec enim mihi barbara Rheni / ora nec arctoo domus est glacialis in Haemo*. At all events I feel sure that there should be a full stop after 27.

Pollux volunteers to fight Amycus.

4.230 nec pretium sonipes aut sacrae taurus harenae,
 praemia sed manes reclusaque ianua leti.

Admittedly a reminiscence of Hom. *Il.* 22.159 ἐπεὶ οὐχ ἱερῆϊον οὐδὲ βοεῖην / ἀρνύσθην . . . ἀλλὰ περὶ ψυχῆς θεόν "Εκτορος ἵπποδάμοιο, and perhaps verbally of Ov. *Met.* 1.662 *praeclusaque ianua leti* (cf. Bömer),

but what does it mean? Surely not that the prize for which Pollux was to fight was his opponent's death — rather than his own life (cf. Wagner "*praemia nil nisi mors praesentissima*")? For better understanding than has hitherto been forthcoming perhaps we should look to Virg. *Aen.* 8.243 *non secus ac si qua penitus vi terra dehiscens / infernas reseret sedes et regna recludat / pallida . . . trepidentque immisso lumine Manes*. There the underworld is not opened to admit the dead but exposed to the view of the living. Similarly in Sil. 13.523 *non optanda recludis / regna* the underworld is to be opened so that the dead may come forth. Hor. *Carm.* 1.24.17, Stat. *Theb.* 5.156, 11.421 make the same way. From the moment Pollux matched himself against Amycus, following in the footsteps of so many victims, he might be counted as a dead man. Only by winning could he open the door back to life. *manes* = *inferna* is to be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with *reclusa*.

4.274

paulatim insurgere fesso

integer et summos *manibus deducere* caestus.

The latest discussion, by J. Delz (*Mus. Helv.* 32 [1975] 158 ff), accepts Langen's explanation of *deducere*: "sc. in Amycum, id quod demittere: 'niederfallen lassen.'" Like Johnny Strand (*Notes on Argonautica* [Gothenberg 1972] 101), "I simply cannot believe that *deducere* can be used to denote a violent blow for which there is no parallel." Add that *manibus* is notably otiose and the sense unsuitable. This fight still has a long way to go. Pollux has been on the defensive hitherto, but Amycus is now tired. Both fighters take a rest (279–281), then resume refreshed and "mix it" (282–288). The knockout finally arrives in 309 ff. But a successful blow from above might be expected to make a climax. In Virgil (*Aen.* 5.443 ff) and Apollonius (2.90 ff) such a potential *coup de grâce* is dealt, but evaded. Valerius will have had the former in mind: *ostendit dextram insurgens Entellus et alte / extulit*. I suggest he may have written *summos minitans obducere caestus* (cf. 289 *dextramque parat dextramque minatur*). His hands were not raised perpendicularly but in a forward thrust. *obducere* thus represents *o(b)stendit*.

4.399

nec pater aut trepidae temptant accedere nymphae.

ergo iterum silvas, iterum petit invia retro

ceu Styga dilectum fugiens caput.

"*Styx* ponitur tanquam res maxime abominanda et fugienda, vid. Hom. *Il.* 9.312; *Od.* 14.156" (Langen, following Heinsius, etc.). The point is, however, that Io's father was a river and that *caput* is his source — possibly a deliberate *amphibolia*.

5.528 urit et antiquae memorem vox praescia sortis,
cum semel aut Persen illinc sibi moverit aut hinc
 Thessalicam fortuna ratem, num debitus ista
 finis agat saevaeque petant iam vellera Parcae.

5.596 *hic* et Iaxarten dictis stupet hospes acerbis
immodicum linguaque gravem, cui multa minanti
non superum, non praesentis reverentia †*belli*†.

Baehrens' *Phoebe* (i.e., *Solis*), read by Bury and Mozley, is not the answer in 598. It is all very well for Juno to say (403 ff) that when Aeetes gives audience to his subjects at the altar of Phoebus under the daylight sky his father is present to guide him (*praesens pater admonet aequi*), but in a banquet hall, presumably at night, the Sun could be present only in some sort of artistic representation, of which the poem has nothing to say. A better answer may be *mensae*. Iaxartes' boasting was restrained by no respect for the Gods, who were absent or at any rate invisible, nor yet for the sacred table before his eyes (i.e., for his companions at the feast); cf. Claud. *Ruf.* 1.229 *nusquam reverentia mensae* and *Thes.* 8.740.10 ("de sanctitate mensae hospitalis"). *belli* seems to be a "psychological" error; the context is full of war (note 576 *arma*, 580 *ceu pugnam paret et positas confundere mensas*, 585 *bellatoris equi*, 600 *arma*, 607 *acies*, 617 *aciem . . . belligeros labores*).

. 5.667 "... quod sin ea Mayors
abnegat et solus nostris sudoribus obstat,
ibimus indecores frustra que tot aequora vectae?
mas aliqua et nequeat, si femina."

Madvig and Sudhaus between them are responsible for this singularly unconvincing substitute for *fas aliqua nequeat sic femina*, the conclusion of Pallas' address to Jupiter. Why should a male's capacities be limited by a female's? And how is the question related to the context? The nom. sing. *mas* seems to be shunned by classical poets, except for one example in a fragment of Laevius (Morel, p. 26). *fessaque nunc (vae Langen) cedam tibi femina?* (Schenkl) is painfully feeble where trenchancy is essential. Furthermore, the singular is uncomfortable after *ibimus* (sc. *ego et Iuno*) . . . *vectae*. The latter objection also applies to Wagner's *fassaque quae nequeam sim femina?*, but can be obviated by a variation which brings us significantly closer to V: *fassaque quae nequeat sit femina?*, "and should a woman confess her incapacities?"

6.60 tertius unanimis veniens cum milibus Auchus
Cimmerias ostentat opes, cui candidus olim
crinis inest, natale decus; dat longior aetas
iam *spatium*; triplici percurrens tempora nodo
demittit sacro geminas a vertice vittas.

"*spatium* de crinibus in longum crescentibus cur displicuerit Heinsio vix capio, cum ipse apud Ovid. I, *Am.* XIV.3 *spatiosos crines* vindicaverit pro *speciosis*" (Burman). The point would have to be that Auchus' hair became more, not less, abundant with old age. But it is obscurely expressed and *dat spatium* for *spatiosiores fecit* is doubtful Latin. Modern exegesis takes a different road: "ei quippe seniori iam pars crinum, ut fit, excidit atque hac calvitie exorta spatium datur ad caput triplici nodo vittae circumligandum" (Langen). A head does not have to be bald to wear a headband. Read *speciem* (cf. Liv. 9.40.3 *galleae cristatae, quae speciem magnitudini corporum adderent*). White hair on a baby's head is unusual rather than becoming, but old age commends it: cf. Suet. *Claud.* 30 *specie canitieque pulchra*, Hist. Aug. *Gord.* 6.1 *erat quidem longitudine Romana, canitie decora et pompali vultu*, also *Claud. Epithal.* 323 *pudor emicat una / formosusque rigor vultusque auctura verendos / canities festina venit*. The converse corruption is probable in Prop. 2.31.3 *tanta erat in speciem (spatium Heinsius) Poenis digesta columnis*; see *Propertiana*, p. 125.

Medores attacks Castor, who has killed his brother, whose horse Castor now rides.

6.213 "*hunc*, age, vel caeso comitem me reddite fratri,
primus at hic nostra sonipes cadet impius hasta
credita qui misero non rettulit arma parenti
meque venit contra captivae terga ministrat."

6.342 trepidus super advolat Idas
ac simul Oenides pariterque Menoetius et qui
Bebrycio †*propius*† remeavit ab hospite victor.

6.410 non tam foeda virum Laurentibus *agmina* terris
eicere Noti, Libyco nec talis imago
litore cum fractas involvunt aequora puppes.

6.443 mutat agros fluviumque vias, *suus* alligat *urgens*
 cuncta *sopor*, recolit fessos aetate parentes
 datque alias sine lege colus.

6.569 Nestoris hastae
 immoritur primaevus Helix, nec reddita caro
 nutrimenta patri, *brevibus*<que> *ereptus* in annis.

que add. Samuelsson. As an independent statement *brevibusque ereptus (est) in annis* falls rather flat. Has *ereptus* replaced *pereūtis*?

- 6.592 "ipsum" ait "Aesoniden cernis, soror, aequore tanto
debita cognati repetit qui vellera Phrixi,
nec nunc laude prior generis nec *sanguine* quisquam . . ."

prior Itali, *precor* V. "Neminem nobiliore loco ortum neque cognitione propius Medae ipsique iunctum esse quam Iasonem Chalciope falsa dicit" (Langen). *sanguine prior* is not equivalent to *sanguine propior*, Medea had closer relatives than Jason, and Jason's birth was not his only recommendation. I would read *nomine* for *sanguine*, as Postgate rightly did in Prop. 2.7.20. There *sanguine* derives from the same word seven lines previously, here it is a "psychological" error due to *generis*.

- 7.58 si tamen his aliter perstas non cedere terris
teque pudor cassi reditus movet ac latet una
nescioquid plus puppe viris, haud ipse morabor
quae petitis.

Burman construed *si (in) ista nave plus viris (abl.) latet*. Similarly J. A. Wagner: "si scilicet praeter viros divini nescioquid in navi vestra latet." Hence Mozley: "Here and in 71 there is a hint of some mysterious power lurking in the Argo." In 71 *ac siquid in isto est / robore* the noun does not refer to the ship ("wooden hulk") but to Jason's strength. In 60 *puppe* is not locative but ablative (of comparison), and *viris* is not ablative but dative: "If you warriors have something (i.e., a 'secret weapon') hidden, something more than a single ship." On the face of it, and apart from themselves, the Argonauts had nothing to help them except the Argo; cf. 8.267 *puppe, nefas, una praedo Phrixia reportat / vellera*. But of course they might have something up their sleeves. Aeetes' tone is half jeering, half uneasy.

- 7.133 saltem, fata virum si iam suprema ferebant,
iussus ad ignotos potius foret ire tyrannos
o utinam, *ut* tandem non hac moreretur in urbe!

ut Schenkl, *et* V. Courtney's presentation of this passage, which has been variously mispunctuated and misunderstood, is unexceptionable apart from the change of *et* to *ut*, which he says he understands otherwise than its originator. There can be no doubt how *ut* should be taken, it makes excellent sense, and may well be what Valerius wrote; but no change is necessary. Medea wishes that if Jason had to die he had at least been ordered to seek other tyrants than her father and (so) that he were

at any rate not dying in her town. *tandem* reinforces *saltem*, of which it is practically an equivalent (cf. Munro on Lucr. 3.793). As for the tense of *moreretur*, given that Jason is doomed (*fata virum si iam suprema ferebant*), he can be regarded as already in process of dying.

Juno, worried by the temporary cooling of Medea's passion, again asks Venus' help.

- 7.159 sum memor ut †tecum† mecum partita laborem;
 illa nimis sed dura manet conversaque in iram
 et furias dolet ac *me* nunc *decepta* reliquit.
 i precor atque istum quo me frustratur amorem
 vince †precor† patriis ut tandem evadere tectis
 audeat atque meum casu defendere ab omni
 165 Aesoniden. *quin* illa *sacro*, quo freta, veneno
 illum etiam totis adstantem noctibus anguem,
 169 . . . in somnos ingenti solvat ab orno.

Courtney's obeli had better stay. The meaning of 159 is clear: "I remember that you were my partner in the job" (of arousing Medea's affections; that this does not quite square with the narrative in 6.455 ff need not detain us). For *precor* in 163 *procax* (Sandstroem) is possible, but since the former word is evidently a reflexion from the previous line the *ductus litterarum* may be irrelevant.

Perhaps *decepta* should be obelized too. Juno had been disappointed by Medea; so by consequence had her partner Venus, but *decepta* can hardly be vocative. Medea may be said to have been deceived by Juno, who had visited her in disguise, but there is no earthly or heavenly reason why Juno should say so at this point. *non* for *nunc* (Schenkl) and *defecta* (Meyncke, after *conversa in iram et furias*!) are clearly useless. Heinsius did better with *mea nunc incepta*. Or *me nunc et coepta*?

In 165 the substitution of *quin* (ed. Iuntina) for *quis* yields nothing acceptable. *quo freta* is pointless and *sacro* odd. Moreover Medea had been in the habit of feeding poison to the dragon as its regular diet (1.62, 8.97). Modern editors ignore the reading attributed by Carrio to his manuscript (C): *qu(e)is illa sacris, quo freta veneno*? As an exclamation, not question, this seems a possible solution.

Circe (Juno) to Medea:

- 7.288 promisi (ne falle, precor) cumque ipsa moverer
 adloquio casuque viri te passa rogari
 sum potius: tu laude nova, tu supplice *digno*
 dignior es, *et* fama meis iam parta venenis.

In 291 Courtney maintains *ēs* without mentioning Heinsius' widely accepted *sat* (for *et*), which makes far better sense. I am unable to follow Leo's comment in his review of Langen (*Ges. Schr.* II, 227 n., "VII 282 . . . ist gewiss das überlieferte *et* besser als das von L(angen) nach Heinsius eingesetzte *sat*; denn dass es sich um *venena* handeln wird, wird hier erst angedeutet: auf *meis* muss der ungeschwächte Ton liegen." *tu supplice digno / dignior es* looks as though it ought to make some brilliant point, but what *is* the point? "You are more worthy than I of a worthy suppliant" is neither epigram nor paradox, but something not far removed from nonsense. Nor is "*illa elegantia digno dignior*" (Burman) characteristic of Valerius. I will not suppress my suspicion that *digno* is an interpolation in replacement of a missing *tanto* or *tali*.

7.519 saevior ingenti Mavortis in arbore restat,
 crede, labor; quem — tanta utinam fiducia nostri
 sit mihi nocturnaeque Hecates *nostrique* vigoris —
 * * * * *

Courtney tacitly, and I think rightly, rejects *tibi* (Langen) for *mihi* in 521. He attributes the lacuna after 521 to Leo, who in fact maintained that two half-lines are missing after *Hecates* (ibid., 244), thus at least getting rid of the intolerable sequence *nostrī . . . nostrique vigoris*. If *vigoris* could signify "(magic) power" ("den ihr eigenen *vigor*, der ihrer *virginitas* innewohnt," Köstlin, *Philol.* 48 [1889] 671!), *notique* might be considered.

Aeetes had hoped that the Argonauts would slip away in the night. Instead comes a messenger to tell him that Jason is already at the Field of Mars, ready for the ordeal.

7.546 *et* "voco en ultro" dixit "*spesque addidit alas*.
 vos mihi nunc primum in †flammas† invertite, tauri,
 aequora, nunc totas aperite et volvite flammās . . ."

rex (C. L. Howard, *Cl. Quart.* 6 [1956] 168) for *et* makes it unnecessary to assume a lacuna before 546.

alas for *aula* was not a happy inspiration. Its originator, P. Wagner (*Philol.* 20 [1863] 646), attributes *spesque addidit alas* to the poet, with reference to Aeetes, whose hope had been quite different (see above and cf. Howard). Placed in Aeetes' mouth the Virgilian reminiscence (of *Aen.* 8.224 *pedibus timor addidit alas*) is a comment on Jason's speed in getting to the scene of action, of which the poet has said nothing. The effect, to my mind at least, is comic. I think *aula* is likely to be sound.

Nothing could be more natural than for Aeetes to rush out of his palace, shouting maledictions. Read *seque abripit aula?* *spes* may have come from 539.

7.587 inicit Aesonides dextram atque ardentia †*mittit*†
cornua, dein totis propendens viribus haeret.
ille virum atque ipsam tunc te, Medea, recusans
concutit et tota nitentem †*carminis*† ira
portat iners; tandem gravius mugire recedens
incipit et fesso victus descendere cornu.

On *mittit* cf. Harles: "*nectit* ed. Bon. haud male!" I agree. Leo (*Ges. Schr.* II, 245) makes *atque* = *adque*, but classical poets do not attach *-que* to *ad* for an obvious reason. *carminis* (Medea's spell; cf. 574 *cantibus*) may be right after all; for the objective genitive see *Thes.* 7.2.363.74. At all events the rage is the bull's, not (as Mozley) Jason's; cf. 599 *ipsa vi molis et irae*. The sentence should end at *portat*; for the resulting meter cf. 3.599.

8.415 me quoque quid tecum Minyae, fortissima pubes,
nocte dieque novent liceat cognoscere tandem,
si modo Peliacae non sum captiva carinae
nec dominos decepta sequor consultaque vestra
fas audire mihi. *vereor*, fidissime coniunx,
nil equidem; miserere tamen promissaque serva
usque ad Thessalicos saltem conubia portus
inque tua me sperne domo.

Medea's statement that she fears nothing is as irrelevant as it is false (she *is* afraid of being handed back to the Colchians [423 ff]). Read *merear*. Jason may forget all she has done for him, if he chooses, but let him at least have some pity.

The only conjecture on this author I have previously published is at 5.435 *textitur Argea* (*Argo* V) *pinus Pagasaea securi*. It is correctly attributed in Courtney's apparatus, but had occurred to him independently (*Cl. Rev.* 12 (1962) 116 f). Cf. Ehlers, *Lustrum* 16 (1974) 130: "Evident Courtneys und Shackleton Baileys (*Propertiana* 211) *Argea*."

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ARRIAN AND THE ALANI

A. B. BOSWORTH

IN modern times L. Flavius Arrianus is best known as the historian par excellence of Alexander the Great. He was also one of the most prominent figures of the Hadrianic era, a friend of the emperor and consular legate of Cappadocia between A.D. 131 and 137.¹ While in Cappadocia he successfully repelled an incursion by a marauding Sarmatian people, the Alani. The encounter is unusually well documented by Arrian himself. The extant *Order of Battle against the Alani* ("Εκταξίς κατὰ Ἀλανῶν) describes in some detail the disposition and tactics he intended to use to counter the massed heavy cavalry of the enemy.² The *Ectaxis* itself is an invaluable quarry of information for students of the Roman army, and the data it supplies about the auxiliary forces of Cappadocia have long been appreciated as unique. Arrian's dual role as Roman general and Greek historian has also attracted attention; rightly so, for he provides one of the most spectacular instances of the assimilation of the Hellenic provincial aristocracy into

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¹ See in general E. Schwartz, *RE* II 1230-1237; H. F. Pelham, "Arrian as Legate of Cappadocia," *Essays in Roman History* (Oxford 1909) 212-233; A. Stein, *PIR*² F 219; E. Bowie, *Past and Present* XLVI (1970) 24-28; A. B. Bosworth, "Arrian and Rome," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II 4.

² I refer to the text in the second edition of A. G. Roos' Teubner of Arrian (*II: Scripta Minora* [Leipzig 1968] 177-185). In summer 1975 I made my own examination of the archetype of the *Ectaxis* (Plut. gr. 55.4), which is kept in the Medicean Library, and I confirmed the accuracy of Roos' readings. All manuscript errors are reported in his apparatus; he fails to mention three insignificant spaces in the text which mark the end of sentences, but otherwise his description of the state of the manuscript seems exhaustive. There is also a text in F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* II B 851-854 (*FGrH* 156 F 12), but it is based on the 1885 Teubner edition of A. Eberhard and includes some emendations which are certainly incorrect. The recent English translation by B. H. Bachrach, *A History of the Alans in the West* (Minnesota 1973) 126-132, is riddled with errors and useless for historical interpretation.

governing circles at Rome. It comes as a surprise to find that there is as yet no detailed study of the historical background to Arrian's encounter with the Alani, no attempt to elucidate the long and short range problems with which Arrian was faced.³ The present paper is an attempt to fill that gap and in particular to place the *Ectaxis* in the light it deserves. As a general's report on an actual campaign, this work on its smaller scale has an importance comparable to Caesar's *Commentarii*, and like the *Commentarii* it poses intriguing historiographical problems. In what follows I shall first attempt to sketch the wider political setting of Arrian's encounter with the Alani, then I shall move to the detailed tactical narrative of the *Ectaxis*, and finally I shall deal with some of the more remarkable aspects of its literary presentation.

Almost all our information about Arrian's encounter with the Alani is provided by Arrian's fellow countryman, Cassius Dio of Nicaea. The passage in question survives only in epitome, but it exists in three versions, those of Xiphilinus, Zonaras, and the Byzantine *excerpta de legationibus*.⁴ These versions agree in factual content and vocabulary, and the composite text printed by Boissevain is probably a fair approximation of what Dio actually wrote. Though brief the passage is extremely informative. In the first place the war against the Alani is synchronized with the suppression of Bar Kochba's rebellion in Judaea. This uprising ended in the 18th regnal year of Hadrian, probably in summer 135.⁵ So

³ Pelham's essay (see n.1, above) is the fullest study, but it concentrates largely on the *Periplus*, relegating the Alani to the last few pages and dealing almost exclusively with the composition of Arrian's army. There are passing remarks on the political background by N. C. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia* (Chicago 1938) 242-244; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950) I 621, II 1483; F. Carrata Thomes, *Gli Alani nella politica orientale di Antonino Pio* (Università di Torino: Pubbl. d. Fac. d. Lett. e Filos. X 2 [1958]).

⁴ Dio 69.15.1 (T 12 Roos) ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἰουδαίων πόλεμος ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτησεν, ἕτερος δὲ ἐξ Ἀλανῶν (εἰσὶ δὲ Μασσαγέται) ἐκινήθη ὑπὸ Φαρασμάνου, καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἀλβανίδα καὶ τὴν Μηδίαν ἰσχυρῶς ἐλύπησε, τῆς δ' Ἀρμενίας τῆς τε Καππαδοκίας ἀψάμενος, ἔπειτα τῶν Ἀλανῶν τὰ μὲν δώροις ὑπὸ τοῦ Οὐλογοαῖσου πεισθέντων, τὰ δὲ καὶ Φλάουιον Ἀρριανὸν τὸν τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἄρχοντα φοβηθέντων, ἐπαύσατο. The text is taken from Xiphilinus and the *excerpta*, which agree verbatim except that Albania is mentioned in the *excerpta* alone. Zonaras 11.24 gives a briefer résumé, not mentioning Arrian and conflating the Alani and Albani, but the vocabulary he uses is identical with that of the other digests and must derive from Dio.

⁵ Eusebius *HE* 4.6.3 gives the regnal year, which seems confirmed by the fact that Hadrian's second imperial salutation, conferred at the end of the Jewish War, is missing in diplomas of 134 (*CIL* XVI 78-80). Hostilities may have dragged out until the end of the year. The last dated document of the revolt was written on "21 Tishri of the fourth year of the liberation of Israel"; if war broke out in spring 132, that would take us to October 135. See, most recently, E. Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (2nd ed., 1972) 553.

far the dating is very rough and ready, but at least it coheres with the evidence of Arrian's *Periplus*. This work was written in 131/132, immediately after the death of King Cotys II of the Bosphorus.⁶ Now the *Periplus* has an overt and practical purpose, to inform Hadrian of conditions in the Black Sea area in case he decided upon an expedition to the Crimea to settle the affairs of the Bosporan kingdom (*Periplus* 17.3). There is, however, not a word about the Alani. Arrian says nothing about the peoples in the hinterland of the Tanais and Lake Maeotis, the domicile of the Alani, although he is scrupulous to enumerate the inland tribes immediately to the south.⁷ The omission of the Alani is startling and virtually incomprehensible if they had already begun to pose a threat to Roman Cappadocia. Dio's date of 135 seems roughly correct for the war.

The account of the invasion proper is also extremely informative. It is clear that the Alani did not move spontaneously but at the instigation of Pharasmanes II, king of Iberia. Now the kingdom of Iberia was placed in a crucial strategic position. It dominated the Caucasus, controlling the key Pass of Darial, which straddles the main road from north to south of the range.⁸ Pharasmanes allowed the Alani through his kingdom so that they could devastate the neighboring states of Albania and Media Atropatene. In other words, the invasion was directed against areas outside the Roman Empire. The territory which suffered most in it was the Parthian vassal kingdom of Media. It is true that the Alani subsequently moved into the Roman domains of Armenia and Cappadocia,⁹ but they were already sated with plunder and the Danegeld

⁶ The coinage of Cotys II covers years 420-429 of the Bosporan era, equivalent to 123/124-132/133. His successor, Rhoemetaces, was already issuing coins in year 428 (131/132). Cf. B. M. C. *Pontus etc.* 61-64; *PIR*² I 276, 516.

⁷ Arr. *Peripl.* 11.1-3. The description of the Tanais and Lake Maeotis comes at 19.1-3. Arrian says nothing about the peoples there, which contrasts sharply with the previous chapter, where he gives the precise boundary between the Zilchi and Sanigae, minor client tribes at the extremity of Cappadocia (18.3) The Alani were immediately to the northeast of the Zilchi, yet they are not mentioned.

⁸ On the importance of the Darial Pass see particularly Pliny *NH* 6.40 with Treidler, *RE* XXII 325-326.

⁹ A. von Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans* (Tübingen 1885) 146-147, claimed that the Vologaeses who bought off the Alani and sent embassies of complaint to Rome was not the Parthian king but the unknown ruler of Armenia appointed by Hadrian in 114 (*HA Hadr.* 21.11). This view has often been accepted (cf. Magie, *RRAM* II 1528), but wrongly. Gutschmid had no reason other than prejudice for denying that the Parthian king could have bought off the Alani or complained against Pharasmanes, and there is no reason why the ruler of Armenia should be substituted for him.

weakly paid by Vologaeses II of Parthia to induce them to move west. The momentum of the Alani seems to have been spent by then. The war says Dio, merely touched (*ἀψάμενος*) Armenia and Cappadocia, for the Alani were frightened off by Flavius Arrianus. Dio's terminology does not indicate a very serious campaign in Cappadocia, more a demonstration of force near the frontier to divert the raiders north to the Caucasus. We should certainly be very wary of talking in terms of a full scale invasion of Cappadocia and a major threat to the frontier system of the Roman east.

It is questionable whether the Alani ever posed a serious frontier problem for the Romans. Their previous history, in so far as it is known, suggests that their depredations in general served the interests of Rome. In the first decades of the Christian era the Alani made their appearance in the lower Don basin. From their original homeland in the lower reaches of the Oxus south of the Sea of Aral they had wandered slowly westwards to the river Don and the Sea of Azov. There they displaced two earlier arrivals, the Aorsi and Sindaces, both Sarmatian peoples who had themselves migrated and reached South Russia by the mid-first century B.C.¹⁰ Formidable these peoples certainly were. Their warriors were the famous mailed cavalry which had evolved among the Saca peoples south of the Aral as early as Achaemenid times. In the main, however, they had no contact with Rome in their early days in South Russia. When they appear in history, it tends to be as mercenaries in the service of neighboring kings. As early as 48 B.C. Pharnaces of Pontus had used vast numbers of Sarmatian cavalry in his grandiose invasion of Asia Minor.¹¹ On this occasion they did attack Rome, but as auxiliaries not as the principal agents, and there is no hint that they played a decisive role in the hostilities. Later under Augustus there were embassies from the Sarmatian kings in and beyond the Don basin,

¹⁰ On the Sarmatian migration to the west see G. Vernadsky, "Sur l'origine des Alains," *Byzantion* 16 (1942/1943) 81-86, and, most accessibly, T. Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians* (1971) 112 ff. A substantial branch of the Alani seem to have remained in the eastern steppes. They are named in the annals of the Han dynasty of China, dating from the first two centuries A.D., and Ptolemy apparently places them in the far east as well as in Europe (Ptol. 3.5.19; 6.14.9; cf. Täubler, *Klio* 9 [1909] 19-20; K. Enoki, *Central Asiatic Journal* 1 [1955] 46-50). To this day a small Turcoman tribe in the basin of the Amu-Darya (Oxus) calls itself the Alani (Vernadsky, p. 82).

¹¹ Strabo 11.5.8 (506). The numbers given are formidable, 20,000 Siracian cavalry and still more Aorsi, but they are unique to Strabo. No other source hints that the Sarmatians played any important role in the invasion. See further Magie, *RRAM* I 407-412.

soliciting the friendship of the Roman people.¹² The identity of these Sarmatian kings is not stated, but they must have included the Aorsi and Sindaces, who occupied the Don basin in Augustus' reign. The Alani proper had not yet arrived.

The Sarmatian forerunners of the Alani were *amici populi Romani* as early as Augustus' reign. The Alani also make their first appearance in Roman history as allies of Rome. In A.D. 35 Tiberius launched a military and diplomatic offensive against the Parthian king, Artabanus III, who had recently seized Armenia. Rome's military offensive was operated from the north; the king of Iberia led an invasion into Armenia.¹³ Both sides, Parthian and Iberian, called upon the Sarmatians as allies, but it was the Iberians who controlled the passes across the Caucasus and were able to admit their own allies, at the same time excluding help for the Parthians.¹⁴ Thanks to the Sarmatian heavy cavalry the Parthians were decisively defeated and Armenia returned to the political fold of Rome — under an Iberian king. Who were these Sarmatians? Tacitus, the principal source, speaks vaguely of *Sarmatae* without specifying their origins. Josephus, however, names them explicitly as Alani. The passage is admittedly slightly corrupt, but the reference to the Alani is clear enough.¹⁵ We must accept that they were instrumental in a major Roman triumph.

¹² *Res Gestae* 31.2: nostram amic[iti]am appetive[re] per legat[os] B[a]starn[ae] Scythae[que] et Sarmatarum qui su[n]t citra fl[um]en Tanaim [et] ultra reg[es] Alba[norum]que rex et Hiberorum e[st] Medorum]. For the location of the Aorsi along the Tanais see Strabo 11.5.8 (506).

¹³ Tac. *Ann.* 6.32–36; Dio 58.26.1–4 (very brief); cf. Debevoise (above, n.3) 158–159.

¹⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 6.33.2: contra Pharasmanes adiungere Albanos, accire Sarmatas, quorum sceptuchi utrimque donis acceptis more gentico diversa induere. sed Hiberi locorum potentes Caspia via Sarmatam in Armenios raptim effundunt.

¹⁵ Jos. *Ag.* 18.97: after Tiberius' appeal to the kings of Iberia and Albania, οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀντείχον, Ἄλανοι δὲ δίοδον αὐτοῖς διδόντες διὰ τῆς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς θύρας τὰς Κασπίας ἀνοίξαντες ἐπάγουσι τῷ Ἀρταβάνῳ. This, the manuscript reading, is untenable. The Alani cannot have given the Iberians passage through the Caspian Gates, for the gates were in Iberian territory. Tacitus, moreover, says explicitly that it was the Iberians who admitted their allies through the Caspian Gates. The *editio princeps* was therefore right to emend to Ἀλανοὺς, assuming the word to have been attracted by its context into the nominative. It is clear that Josephus named the Alani as allies of the Iberians at this juncture, and it is generally accepted that the Alani had reached the Tanais by A.D. 35 (M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* [1922] 116; *CAH.* 11.94). Täubler (above, n.10) 16 observed acutely that late in Claudius' reign the Siraces were adjacent to the Dandarii, near the Kuban River and three days march from the Don (Tac. *Ann.* 12.16–17.2). Strabo, however, had located them south of the

The subsequent references to Alani in particular and Sarmatians in general are extremely scanty. Towards the end of Claudius' reign there was trouble in the Bosporan kingdom, when the exiled king Mithridates tried to regain the throne from his nephew, Cotys I.¹⁶ On this occasion Sarmatian peoples took both sides.¹⁷ The Alani are not mentioned, but the decisive action was taken by the king of the cognate Aorsi, who first helped Cotys to victory and then negotiated with Claudius as an equal on behalf of Mithridates, the defeated party.¹⁸ The episode shows clearly that the Sarmatians were a potent force in Bosporan politics, and the client kingdom of the Bosphorus was clearly subject to chronic attacks by the Sindaces.¹⁹ But there was as yet no Sarmatian unity, and the tribes could be successfully played off against each other.

The Alani did not become predominant in the area until the Neronian period. They are apparently unknown in Latin literature until Lucan, who speaks of them as a bellicose people beyond the Caspian Gates.²⁰ Subsequently Valerius Flaccus and Martial portray them as the principal Sarmatian people of South Russia.²¹ The reason for their sudden prominence is unknown, and speculation cannot take us far. The early 60s A.D. however, do seem to have witnessed increased Roman activity around the Black Sea. The legate of Moesia, Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus, penetrated to the Bosporan kingdom and raised a siege by the formidable Tauroscythians of the Crimea.²² In the aftermath of this expedition there was apparently direct Roman intervention. At least

Aorsi, below the Tanais and abutting the Caucasian mountains (11.2.1 [492]; 11.5.7 [506]). In the first half of the first century the Siraces had been pushed to the north, and the most probable explanation is that the arrival of the Alani had forced them to migrate.

¹⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 12.15–18; Pliny *NH* 6.17.

¹⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 12.15.3.

¹⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 12.16–17 gives details of the campaign, on which see Treidler, *RE* IX A 1092–1093. For the Aorsian claim to equality see Tac. *Ann.* 12.19.2.

¹⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 12.15.2: *hostilia resumpserat*. The Siraces apparently remained a nuisance for the next century. An inscription of A.D. 193 honors a Bosporan dignitary who gained his laurels πολ[ε]μῆσας . . . καὶ Στραχούς καὶ Σκύθας (Latyshev, *IPE*. II 423). The Sarmatian peoples, however, never seem to have presented the consistent threat against the Bosporan kingdom that their Scythian neighbors did (Rostovtzeff, *CAH*. XI 95–96).

²⁰ Lucan 8.223–224; 10.454; cf. Täubler (above, n.10) 14.

²¹ Val. Flacc. 6.42, 656; Martial 7.30. Seneca *Thyestes* 629–630 refers to the Alani, but confusedly locates them near the Danube.

²² *ILS* 986. The epitaph explicitly distinguishes the Scyths who attacked the Tauric Chersonese from the Sarmatian peoples near the Danube. For further details see V. F. Gajdukević, *Das bosporanische Reich* (Berlin 1971) 344–345.

Nero's head and titulature appears alone on the coinage after 62/63, displacing the monogram of the local ruler, Cotys I.²³ The Alani themselves are not mentioned in these transactions, but as Roman attention gradually focused on the northern Black Sea coast, it is hardly surprising that they became familiar as the most important Sarmatian people north of the Caucasus.

It was the invasion of 72, however, which made the Alani a household word. In that year they invaded Parthian territory at the invitation of the insurgent Hyrcanians. They swept round the Caspian in a vast arc, passing near their old homeland south of the Aral Sea and burst through the eastern Caspian Gates, some fifty miles east of modern Teheran.²⁴ The first victims were the unfortunate people of Media Atropatene, who were taken entirely by surprise and could offer no resistance. The wives and concubines of King Pacorus fell into their hands, and he was forced to pay a ransom of 100 talents. The wave of invasion then moved to Armenia, where King Tiridates, newly installed with Nero's consent, was rash enough to risk battle. He was defeated, almost captured alive, thanks to the invaders' dexterity with the lasso, and he had to watch helplessly while the invaders returned home, presumably through the passes controlled by Iberia, laden with immense booty from the two stricken kingdoms. It had been a devastating raid, but a raid wholly directed against Parthia, and it was the Parthian king whose prestige suffered, for two of his brothers had been humiliated by the invaders.²⁵

²³ B. M. C. *Pontus* 47; cf. Stein, *PIR*² C 1556; E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (1913) 599 f; J. C. G. Anderson, *CAH*. X 775-776; Gajdukević (above, n.22) 345-347.

²⁴ The only informative account is that of Josephus *Bj* 7.244-251, where the invasion is placed immediately after the annexation of Commagene, dated exactly to 72 (*Bj* 7.219). The circuit of the Caspian involved a vast detour, and it has been thought that Josephus is confused, either mistaking the Caspian Gates for the Pass of Derbend (Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans* 133; a view shared by Mommsen and repeated by A. R. Anderson, *TAPA* 59 [1928] 147-148), or mistaking the Alani of the Tanais for their eastern relatives (Täubler [above, n.10] 18-20). But Josephus' narrative is detailed and plausible. He states that the Medes were taken entirely by surprise (7.246), and it is perfectly possible that the Alani circled the Caspian. For most of the way they would have traveled through the territory of related tribes, and the first part of the Parthian empire they encountered was the land of their allies, the Hyrcanians. That gave the onslaught the value of complete surprise, which would have been lost had they approached through the Caucasus.

²⁵ For the importance Vologaeses attached to the success of his two brothers in their dependent kingdoms see Tac. *Ann.* 15.2 and for his concern to maintain their *dignitas* Tac. *Ann.* 15.31.

The Alani had scrupulously avoided the Roman provinces of Asia Minor, and, not surprisingly, Vespasian refused the desperate appeal of Vologaeses for a joint expedition.²⁶ This was a logical if unfriendly act. It was hardly in the interests of Rome to destroy such a useful weapon against Parthia. Of course it was a possibility that the Alani might attack Roman Asia Minor, but their past history had been of friendship with Rome, and the fear of attack must have been slight. Indeed the movement of 135 is the first known incursion by the Alani upon Roman territory. It had been shown in the past that when the Alani moved they had either been instigated or invited by interested powers, and, as long as the Romans could control or exert control over the Caucasian passes there was little to fear from them. But in the center of the Caucasus was the kingdom of Iberia, and it was Pharasmanes of Iberia who fomented the invasion of 135. All strands of the argument are leading in the same direction, and clearly the next stage must be the examination of relations between Rome and Iberia.

The kingdom of Iberia lay in the heart of the Caucasus. Its center lay in the upper reaches of the Cyrus river, not far from modern Tiflis and immediately south of the crucial Darial Pass.²⁷ To the west the confines of the kingdom extended nearly to Colchis and the Black Sea coast. In 65 B.C. Pompey was able to cross directly from Iberia to the river Phasis and the Black Sea.²⁸ Similarly Arrian in the *Periplus* describes the Zydreitae, a people of the inland mountains immediately south of the Phasis, and observes that they were vassals of Pharasmanes of Iberia.²⁹ For two hundred years and more the kingdom had formed a vastly important strategic bridge from the Roman controlled Pontus to the Parthian dependency of Media Atropatene. Between Parthian Media and Iberia stood the kingdom of Albania, which had its center in the lower Araxes plain. To the south was the fertile Caspian coast, leading into Media, and to the north the Derbend Pass which dominates the sea road

²⁶ Suet. *Dom.* 2.2; Dio 66.15.3; εἰπὼν ὅτι οὐ προσήκει αὐτῷ τὰ ἀλλότρια πολυπραγμονεῖν.

²⁷ The most helpful ancient description of the area is that of Strabo 11.3.1–11.4.8 (499–503). The Iberian kingdom has been largely neglected in modern scholarship. Until recently there was no article in Pauly-Wissowa, and the present contribution by H. Treidler (*RE* suppl. IX 1899–1911) is disappointingly lacunose in its historical coverage. See, however, the passing comments of Magic, *RRAM* I 358–359, and the somewhat diffuse survey by F. Grosso, “Aspetti della politica orientale di Domiziano,” *Epigraphica* 16 (1954) 117–179.

²⁸ Dio 37.3.1; Plut. *Pomp.* 34.8 (cf. 34.1: Ἰβηρες ἐπὶ τὰ Μοσχικὰ ὄρη καὶ τὸν Πόντον καθήκοντες); Strabo 11.1.6 (492).

²⁹ Arr. *Peripl.* 11.2.

to the northern Caspian plains.³⁰ The two kingdoms were geographically inseparable, culturally related, and frequently (but, as we shall see, not always) allied by motives of common interest.

The first Roman contacts were traumatic. In 65 B.C. Pompey defeated the kings of Iberia and Albania and paraded hostages from the two kingdoms in his triumph.³¹ Again in 36 B.C. one of Antony's lieutenants, P. Canidius Crassus, invaded and subjugated the kingdoms, forcing them into alliance with Rome.³² These, however, were peripheral actions, a sidepiece to Pompey's pursuit of Tigranes and a prelude to Antony's invasion of Parthia. The Caucasian kingdoms were remote from the mainstream of Roman politics and remained so. They are mentioned only in passing in the list of embassies seeking *amicitia* with Rome in Augustus' reign, and during the Julio-Claudian period they are mentioned as Roman allies in the episodic struggle for Armenia.³³ But as yet there was no Roman military presence in the area. It was the latter years of Nero which witnessed the first attempts at military penetration. By the time of the Jewish Revolt the eastern Black Sea from Pontus to the Bosphorus had been placed under direct Roman control with a permanent garrison and fleet stationed in Trapezus.³⁴ Nero's ambitions apparently went further, and by 68 he had sent detachments from Germany, Britain, and Illyricum to the east for the war which he was planning for the Caspian Gates and the Albanians.³⁵ Nero's motives are not stated, and scholars have leaped to the hypothesis that it was the security of Asia Minor which dominated his calculations; the Caucasian passes were to be held against invasion from the north. Mommsen set a fashion when he emended the Albanians out of the text of Tacitus, substituting the Alani.³⁶ But it has yet to be shown that the Sarmatian

³⁰ Strabo 11.4.1 (501), 4.5 (502); Pliny *NH* 6.29, 39; Ptol. 5.10.1. For Albanian control of the Pass of Derbend see Tac. *Ann.* 6.33.3; Strabo 11.4.1.

³¹ Dio 37.1.3; Plut. *Pomp.* 34; App. *Mithr.* 103.480-482; Strabo 11.1.6 (491), 3.5 (501); cf. Magie, *RRAM* I 358-359; Grosso (above, n.27) 125-127.

³² Plut. *Ant.* 34.10; Dio 49.24.1; Strabo 11.3.5 (501).

³³ *Res Gestae* 31.2; Strabo 6.4.2 (288); Tac. *Ann.* 6.33-36; 11.8.1; 12.44-51 (cf. Magie I 551-553); 13.37.3; 14.23.3.

³⁴ Jos. *Bj* 2.366-367. For the relevance of the passage to the latter years of Nero see A. von Domaszewski, *Rh. Mus.* 47 (1892) 207-218.

³⁵ Tac. *Hist.* 1.6.4; multi ad hoc numeri e Germania ac Britannia et Illyrico quos idem Nero electos praemissosque ad claustra Caspiarum et bellum, quod in Albanos parabat, opprimendis Vindicis coeptis revocaverat. Cf. Pliny 6.40; Dio 63.8.1; Suet. *Nero* 19.2.

³⁶ Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire* (London 1909) II 62 n.1. The suggestion has been received with some favor: e.g., Täubler (above, n.10) 14; Anderson, *CAH*. X 777, 883; Magie, *RRAM* II 1418 n.63, all of whom see

peoples of the north had presented any threat to Roman security. Where they had impinged upon Roman politics it had been in Rome's interests. Furthermore no source suggests that Nero's motives were defensive, and they are unlikely to have been so. In A.D. 66 Armenia had been formally ceded to the brother of the Parthian king and was *de facto* if not *de iure* in Parthian hands. The events of 35 had shown that the Caucasian kingdoms were an invaluable launching pad for operations into Armenia and Media, and their occupation was a necessary preliminary to any future war. The Caucasus was also a logical direction for Roman expansion. In 64 Pontus had been annexed beyond Trapezus and absorbed into the province of Galatia. Roman provincial territory extended to the borders of Iberia and Roman troops could now travel along Pompey's route in reverse, beginning at the Phasis, securing the Darial Pass, and finally moving down the valley of the Cyrus towards Albania and the Caspian Sea. Annexation for annexation's sake is hardly unlikely, given the grandiose ambitions of Nero's last years.

Nero's plans were frustrated by the outbreak of revolt in the west, but they seem to have been adopted and largely fulfilled by the Flavian emperors. The evidence is almost wholly epigraphical, but what there is is eloquent. In A.D. 75 Roman soldiers improved the fortifications of Harmozica, the principal fortress of the Iberians, situated immediately south of the Darial Pass.³⁷ During the reign of Domitian a fortress north of modern Baku was in the hands of a detachment from XII Fulminata, the garrison legion of Melitene in Cappadocia.³⁸ The strategic importance of this fortress is comparable to that of Harmozica. It commanded the coastal Pass of Derbend, the second great strategic

Nero's action as a defensive move against the Sarmatian peoples. W. Schur, *Die Orientpolitik des Kaisers Nero* (1932) 62 ff, accepted Tacitus' reading but thought that Nero's objective was to secure the trade routes with Bactria and India. More recently F. Carrata Thomes (above, n.3) 12 suggested that Nero was creating a vast defensive arc from the Black Sea to the Caspian, again as a measure against the Sarmatians.

³⁷ *SEG* XX 112; cf. A. J. Boltounova, "Quelques notes sur l'inscription de Vespasian, trouvée à Mtskhetha," *Klio* 53 (1971) 213-222. For the strategic importance of Harmozica see Strabo 11.3.5 (501), who implies that it was the principal border fortress of Iberia. Pliny *NH* 6.29-30 confirms that the town, which he calls Harmastus, was salient for the Darial Pass. See also Ptol. 5.10.2; 8.19.6; *Geogr. Rav.* 2.8. On the inscription Mithridates is termed *φιλοκαίσαρι* *καὶ φιλορωμαίων*, the traditional appellations of client kings.

³⁸ *AE* 1951.263: Imp. Domitiano Caesare Aug. Germanic(o) L. Iulius Maximus 7 Leg. XII Ful(minatae). The inscription was discovered on the small hill of Bejuk Dağ, a natural fortress some 70 kilometers north of Baku; cf. F. Grosso, *Epigraphica* 16 (1954) 117 ff.

key to the Caucasus. There is additional evidence for the Domitianic period in an occasional poem by Statius, composed in 95 (*Silv.* 4.4.63-64). This is addressed to Vitorius Marcellus, and in the relevant passage Statius reviews the areas in which the young senator might serve after his praetorship. After the Rhine, Britain, and the Danube he speaks of *metuenda portae limina Caspiacae*. Statius is thinking in terms of a legionary legateship, and he presents the Caspian Gates as the natural sphere of operations of the Cappadocian army. The Roman presence in the Caucasus seems assured, and it may have been a purely defensive measure, to block any future incursions by the Alani.³⁹ It is equally true, however, that Roman troops would have been established in the passes whatever the circumstances once the Romans gained military control of the area. It was now the Romans, not the kings of Iberia and Albania, who would determine the movements of the Sarmatians to the north, and, if necessary, call them in to ravage Parthian territory. It is hardly surprising that Vologaeses threatened war against Rome at roughly the same time as the fortification of Harmozica.⁴⁰ At all events, by the end of the Flavian period both Iberia and Albania were firmly embedded in the frontier system of Rome. Their dependency is strikingly illustrated in the great congress at Elegeia held by Trajan in 114. This meeting is sparsely documented by Eutropius, Festus, and Jerome, but the statements are at least coherent and derived from a common source. Trajan apparently installed a new king over Albania and received formal submission both from the Iberians and from the Sarmatian peoples beyond the Caucasus.⁴¹ The whole area was carefully settled as far as the Bosphorus, and Arrian in the *Periplus* supplies

³⁹ At the same time Tiridates of Armenia was repairing the citadel of Gorneae, close to the capital of Artaxata (*SEG* XV 836 [76/77 A.D.]; *BE* 1956.345), but he had been at the center of the Alani invasion and could be excused for building up his defenses. The Romans had no such pressing motive. The fact that Statius refers to the Caspian Gates as *metuenda* has been taken as evidence that the Romans as late as 95 feared incursions by the Alani (Magie II 1438 n.24). This is too much weight for a single word to bear; the possibility of Sarmatian invasions was not the only reason why the central Caucasus might have been dreaded.

⁴⁰ Pliny *Pan.* 14; Victor *De Caes.* 9.10; Epit. *De Caes.* 9.12; cf. G. W. Bowersock, "Syria under Vespasian," *JRS* 63 (1973) 133-140, esp. 135.

⁴¹ Eutropius 8.2.2; Rufius Festus *Brev.* 20.2: Albanis regem dedit, Hiberos, Bosphorianos, Colchos in fidem Romanae dicionis recepit; Jerome *Chron.* p. 194 (Helm): Hiberos, Sauromatas, Osroenes, Arabas, Bosforanos, Colchos in fidem recepit. These transactions are commemorated in gold and silver issues of Trajan's reign, which bear the legend REGNA ADSIGNATA; cf. P. L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur röm. Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts* I 222 f; R. Göbl, *Rh. Mus.* 104 (1961) 73-75.

information about the numerous petty kings who owed their thrones to Trajan.⁴² Roman control in the Caucasus was now complete, and it is no surprise to find an Iberian prince of the royal house serving with Trajan's armies at Nisibis.⁴³

The accession of Hadrian brought a fundamental change. From the Roman side Trajan's eastern conquests were renounced and the Roman frontier thrown back to the Euphrates. On the Iberian throne there was also a change. Pharasmanes II seems to have been an able and strong-minded monarch, and his ambition was clearly complete independence from Rome. In this he was apparently successful. In 131, when Hadrian visited Cappadocia, Pharasmanes rejected an invitation to meet the emperor at another congress, probably held at Satala.⁴⁴ Such a meeting would have emphasized his dependent status, and Pharasmanes had no intention of repeating the submission offered to Trajan at Elegeia. Relations between Rome and Iberia became strained, as Arrian demonstrates in the *Periplus*. He takes pains to show exactly where the domains of Pharasmanes ended,⁴⁵ and, most significantly, he reveals that at the mouth of the river Apsarus there was a force of five auxiliary cohorts, by far the largest concentration on the Cappadocian coast.⁴⁶ Now the Apsarus is at a salient position of the coast, very close to the Zydreitae of the Iberian border, and it was on his way to the Apsarus in late 66 B.C. that Mithridates was obstructed by a joint force of Armenians and Iberians.⁴⁷ It looks as though Arrian's five cohorts were an outer defense against Iberia. They guarded the road inland to the Caucasus, and the size of the force reflects the unsettled conditions.

In 135 Pharasmanes invoked the Alani, but not against Rome. The first victims were his neighbors, the Albani. This is perhaps not sur-

⁴² Arr. *Peripl.* 11.2-3; cf. Dio 68.19.2.

⁴³ IG XIV 1374 = IGR I 192: an epitaph for Amazaspus, brother of king Mithridates, who died at Nisibis (Groag, *RE* XIII 1879-1880; M. N. Tod, *JRS* 33 [1943] 86).

⁴⁴ HA *Hadr.* 13.9: cumque ad eum quidam reges venissent, ita cum his egit ut eos paeniteret qui venire noluerunt, causa speciatim Pharasmanis, qui eius invitationem superbe neglexerit. The most likely place for this meeting is Satala, which Hadrian had made the center of his visit to Cappadocia; cf. Arr. *Periplus* 1.1; 16.6; 11.2-3; 18.3. Magie I 621 dates these transactions to the period after Hadrian's return from Egypt — some time in 131.

⁴⁵ *Periplus* 11.2.

⁴⁶ *Periplus* 6.2. There is confirmation in an inscription of Hadrian's reign which refers to *numero(rum) tendentium in Ponto Absaro* (ILS 2660). The next largest garrison mentioned is the 400 strong force at the Phasis mouth (*Periplus* 9.3).

⁴⁷ Appian *Mithr.* 101.464 f; cf. Magie II 1224-1225 n.10.

prising, for there had been intermittent hostility between the two kingdoms (explicitly attested under Claudius).⁴⁸ It is quite possible that in 135 the Albani turned towards their southern neighbors, the Medes, just as Pharasmanes I in 51 had appealed to Rome. Whatever the reasons for his action, Pharasmanes unleashed the Alani, dispatched them through the Caspian Gates, and watched complacently while they wrought havoc in Albania and Media Atropatene. As in 72 the Medes were helpless; Vologaeses II could only appeal to Rome,⁴⁹ with as little success as his namesake in the previous century. So far the raid was a repeat of the previous invasion, and the Alani returned through Armenia as before with their booty. But this time they made the error of encroaching upon Roman Cappadocia and encountered the provincial army under Arrian. The resulting demonstration of force drove them northwards into the Caucasus and away from Roman territory.

Dio's account deserts us at this point, but we can take the story further thanks to Themistius, the learned philosopher and orator of fourth century Constantinople. In 384 Themistius was made city prefect by Theodosius, and was immediately lampooned as having compromised his philosophical standards by accepting public office.⁵⁰ He replied in a monograph (*Orat.* 34), justifying his office and citing a number of precedents from earlier history. The crux of the argument is that the Antonine emperors, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, drafted for political service the two most prominent philosophers of their age, Flavius Arrianus and Q. Iunius Rusticus. Themistius unfortunately conflates the two men, saying that both repelled the Alani and both became *ordinarii*,⁵¹ whereas we know that it was Arrian who distinguished himself against the Alani and Rusticus who held the eponymous consulate.⁵² But once we have separated the two, Themistius' evidence about Arrian becomes impressive. He not only crossed the Caspian Gates but regulated boundaries between the Iberian and Albanian kingdoms. This is not rhetorical bombast, but precise and detailed information, and the statement about boundary regulation is surely too

⁴⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 12.45.2: *proelianti sibi (sc. Pharasmani) adversus regem Albanorum et Romanos auxilio vocanti.*

⁴⁹ Dio 69.15.2.

⁵⁰ Cf. W. Stegemann, *RE* V A 1646, 1666; *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* I (Cambridge 1971) 889–894.

⁵¹ Themistius 34.8 (T 13 Roos): *καὶ διέβαινον μὲν στρατηγοὶ Ῥωμαίων Πύλας Κασπίας, ἐξήλαυνον δὲ Ἀλανοὺς ἐξ Ἀρμενίας, ἔταπτον δὲ Ἰβηρῶν ὄρους καὶ Ἀλβανοῖς. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦτοις ἅπασι τὴν ἐπώνυμον τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρχὴν ἐκαρποῦντο.*

⁵² Rusticus was *consul ordinarius* in 162 (cos. II), whereas Arrian's consulship in 129 or 130 was *suffect* (cf. A. B. Bosworth, *CQ* 22 [1972] 165).

precise, and obscure, to have been invented. In the rest of the context Themistius gives parallels from the careers of celebrated philosophers of the Republic, and where his material can be checked it seems accurate.⁵³ We should at least treat his evidence with some respect and investigate the possibility that Arrian did in fact penetrate Iberia and settle the affairs of the kingdom.

One thing seems certain. By the end of Hadrian's reign Pharasmanes was still king of Iberia, but he had become more amenable. According to the *Historia Augusta* there was an exchange of gifts. Pharasmanes offered gold cloaks, a gift which Hadrian treated with contempt, and in return he received a *quingenaria cohors* from Rome.⁵⁴ A present of an auxiliary cohort looks suspiciously like a garrison in thin disguise. Early in the reign of Pius, Pharasmanes made a personal appearance in Rome, where he was prominently fêted and apparently had his kingdom expanded.⁵⁵ Superficially this was a mark of high honor, but Pharasmanes had made direct and public submission to Rome; and the extension of his kingdom was not due to his own efforts, but a grant by the emperor, no doubt based on recommendations made by Arrian during his legateship. There is a further, tantalizing piece of evidence. In 1940 a bilingual inscription in Greek and Aramaic was discovered at Mcheta (Harmozica), at the heart of the ancient kingdom of Iberia.⁵⁶ This commemorates the

⁵³ Themistius refers to the relations between Alexander and Aristotle, Augustus and Arius (cf. Julian *Ep. ad Them.* 11.265 C-D), Scipio and Panaetius, and finally Tiberius and Thrasyllus. He also names a number of republican writers and philosophers who held magistracies: Cato (quaestor 64), Brutus (praetor 44), Varro (praetor after 76 B.C.; Broughton, *MRR.* II 466), P. Rutilius Rufus (cos. 105). The only case where there is no corroborative evidence is the statement that Favonius held the tribunate.

⁵⁴ HA *Hadr.* 17.11-12. The manuscripts read *quingagenariam cohortem*, surely, as Casaubon thought, an error for *quingenariam*. The auxiliary *cohors quingenaria* is a commonplace in the second century A.D. (Ruggiero, *Dizionario Epigrafico* II [1] 329), whereas a cohort fifty strong would be unique and incongruous. See also HA *Hadr.* 21.13; the exchange of gifts took place after the first conference, which the kings of Iberia and Albania had scorned.

⁵⁵ Dio 69.15.3. A recently discovered fragment of the Fasi Ostienses attests the presence of Pharasmanes and his family at Rome but gives no hint of the year of his visit (H. Nesselhauf, *Athenaeum* 36 [1958] 219-228; *AE* 1959.38).

⁵⁶ SEG XVI 781 (Greek only); cf. M. N. Tod, *JRS* 33 (1943) 82-86; J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1944.192; 1948.251a; B. M. Metzger, *JNES* 15 (1956) 18-26 (Greek and Aramaic); P. Grelot, *Semitica* 8 (1958) 11-20 (translation of Aramaic p. 19); F. Carrata Thomes (above, n.3) 23 ff; F. Altheim, *Geschichte der Hunnen* (Berlin 1959) I 247-252; H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden 1966-1969), no. 276: bibliography and commentary, II 328-330.

untimely death of a noble lady, Serapitis, who obviously belonged to the highest court circles. I quote the Aramic version, which is slightly different from the Greek: "I am Serapit, daughter of Zewah the younger, *pitiāx* of Parsman the king, wife of Yodmangan — both victorious and having wrought many victories as chief of the court of Hsepharnug the king — son of Agrippa, chief of the court of Parsman the king."⁵⁷ Two kings are involved, Pharasmanes/Parsman and Xepharnug. Xepharnug is otherwise unknown, but his predecessor, Pharasmenes, can only be Pharasmanes II, the contemporary of Hadrian and Arrian.⁵⁸ Two generations are involved, and it seems that the fathers of Serapitis and her husband, Yodmangan, both held the office of *pitiāx*, a senior court official, perhaps corresponding to the Achaemenid "King's Eye." Serapitis' husband is named Yodmangan clearly a native Iberian, but his father, most surprisingly, has the sound Latin name Publicius Agrippa (given fully in the Greek text).⁵⁹ Publicius Agrippa was *pitiāx* of Pharasmanes II and sufficiently integrated into Iberian society to produce a son who was wholly Iberian. How did Agrippa attain the rank he did? It is possible that he was an immigrant, but, if so, the Iberian kingdom had an absence of racial prejudice which is as admirable as it is astounding. More probably he was installed at court as an act of policy by Arrian himself during his regulation of the borders of Iberia and Albania. Pharasmanes' behavior had been suspicious in the extreme; now there was an automatic check imposed by the installation of a Roman officer in a key position at court. Arrian may even have had in mind the practice of Alexander the Great — of installing a Macedonian

⁵⁷ Σηραπεΐτις Ζηουάχου τοῦ νεωτέρου πιτιάξου θυγάτηρ, Πουβλικίου Ἀγρίππα πιτιάξου υἱοῦ Ἰωδμανγάνου γυνή, τοῦ πολλὰς νείκας ποιήσαντος ἐπιτρόπου βασιλέως Ἰβήρων μεγάλου Ξηφαρνούγου. For the functions of the *pitiāx* see Metzger (above, n.56) 21 ff; Donner and Röllig II 329.

⁵⁸ The Aramaic text states that Xepharnug was the successor of Pharasmanes. The first century Pharasmanes survived into the reign of Nero (Tac. *Ann.* 13.37.3; 14.26.2) and was succeeded by his son, Mithridates (Tod [above, n.56] 85). A Mithridates was king of Iberia around the time of Trajan (*IGR* I 192), and there seems no time in the interim for a second Pharasmanes and Xepharnug to have ruled. There is no alternative. The Pharasmanes of the epitaph must be identified with Pharasmanes II, the contemporary of Hadrian and Arrian.

⁵⁹ Publicius Agrippa is an extremely rare name, not to be found in the indices of *CIL*. He cannot have been an Iberian noble who received Roman citizenship, for grants to distinguished members of client kingdoms would have been conferred by the emperor, and we should expect the recipient to bear an imperial *nomen*. The one Roman name which is attested in the Iberian royal house is *Flavius Dades* (cf. Boltounova [above, n.37] 221).

supervisor alongside a native satrap as an insurance against insurrection.⁶⁰

The evidence indicates that by the end of Hadrian's reign the Iberian kingdom had become a placid vassal of Rome, and it coheres exactly with Themistius' statement that Arrian intervened in Iberia after his pursuit of the Alani to the Caspian Gates.⁶¹ It would seem that Arrian's principal achievement in 135 was not so much the victory over the Alani but the settlement of the Caucasian kingdoms. The Alani invasion was the immediate cause and pretext for intervention, but from the Roman point of view its importance was secondary. It is, however, the encounter with the Alani which attracts most attention because of the unique picture Arrian gives of a Roman army in action during the second century A.D., and it is to the *Ἑκταξίς κατὰ Ἀλανῶν* that we must next turn.

The *Ectaxis* has come down to us as a sadly mutilated torso. Thanks to the loss of a folium in the archetype it breaks off in mid sentence, and, as we shall see, the remaining text is distorted by lacunae. In form it is a series of orders for an impending battle. These orders fall into three parts, the first dealing with the march in column to the battle site, the second with the arrangement of the Roman forces before battle, and the third with the tactics to be used in the battle itself. In the course of his dispositions Arrian reviews the various units of his army, both legionary and auxiliary, and in the main they can be correlated with units attested either epigraphically or in the fourth century *Notitia Dignitatum*. The work of identification was done long ago by Grotefend, Mommsen, and Ritterling, and more recent discoveries have added little to their results.⁶² Only one serious mystery persists — the identification of the unit three times named in the text as *Ἀπλανοί*. They appear in the order of march with the provincial levy of Cappadocia (7), but they are clearly heavier troops, associated in the advance flank guard of the battle line

⁶⁰ For examples of these *ἐπίσκοποι* see Arr. *Anab.* 3.22.1; 3.25.2; 3.28.4. Cf. H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich* (1926) I 126–129.

⁶¹ Lydus *De mag.* 3.53 (T 14 Roos) implies that Arrian was at the Caspian Gates, but the context is vague and inaccurate.

⁶² The preliminary work was done by C. L. Grotefend, *Philologus* 26 (1867) 18–28. Further modifications were added by Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften* VI 148, but the fundamental article is that by E. Ritterling, "Zur Erklärung von Arrians *Ἑκταξίς κατὰ Ἀλανῶν*," *Wiener Studien* 24 (1902) 359–372. Ritterling's identifications are definitive and have been largely confirmed. His suspicion that the *Ἰταλοί* of *Ectaxis* 3; 9 and 13 were a *cohors voluntariorum civium Romanorum* (cf. *CIL* VI 3654) was strikingly confirmed by an inscription from the reign of Marcus Aurelius attesting that a *cohors miliaria equitata C.R.* served in the depths of Armenia with *vexillationes* from the two Cappadocian legions (*ILS* 9117). See also *AE* 1968.528 for the *ala II Ulpia Auriana* (*Ect.* 1).

with men of the *cohors III Cyrenaica*. They look like an auxiliary cohort, but no known cohort could be associated with the name Ἀπλανοί, and scholars resorted to various emendations, all inconclusive.⁶³ The problem can perhaps now be resolved, thanks to the recent discovery that a *cohors Apula* existed in Asia Minor as early as the time of Augustus.⁶⁴ This may be the predecessor of the unit of the Cappadocian army listed in the *Notitia Dignitatum* as *cohors Apuleta* (Or. 38.34), and it seems to me the most likely identification of the Ἀπλανοί of Arrian (read Ἀπυλανοί?). But these are marginalia. We must move to the battle itself and examine the problems of strategy it posed.

Because the *Ectaxis* is written as a set of orders there is naturally very little illustrative detail. In particular there is scant information precisely where Arrian envisaged the engagement taking place. He merely states that the field of battle was a fairly narrow plain, flanked on both sides by steeply rising high ground.⁶⁵ This is very general and unhelpful, but there are passing clues to the identification of the battle site. In the first place only one of the Cappadocian legions, XV Apollinaris, was present at full strength. The men of XII Fulminata are stated to have been far less numerous, and they seem to have comprised *vexillationes* led by tribunes (6). The legate was elsewhere, perhaps commanding detachments of his men in Judaea, where the war had only just ended,⁶⁶ but

⁶³ The most favored candidate was Grotefend's Λεπιδιανοί (above, n.62) 26 (cf. Ritterling [above, n.62] 368); this assumes the unit to have been the *cohors I Lepidiana* of the *Notitia Dignitatum* (Or. 38.35). Seeck's Ἀπληιανοί (*cohors Apuleia C.R.*) was approved by Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.* VI 148 n.2.

⁶⁴ J. M. Cook, *The Troad* 412 nr. 50: praef. cohort(is) Apulae et operum quae in colonia (sc. Alexandria Troas) iussu Augusti facta sunt. Cf. also G. E. Bean, *Inscriptions of Side* nr. 155 (with fig. 61); P. A. Brunt, *ZPE* 13 (1974) 180-182. There is another possible candidate. Professor Pflaum has kindly brought to my notice a recently discovered inscription which attests the presence in Cappadocia of a *cohors I Apamenorum sagittariorum* (A. Degrassi, *Scritti vari di Antichità* [Venice-Trieste 1967] 110 ff). It seems unlikely, however, that this cohort is identical with Arrian's Ἀπλανοί. In the first place *cohors I Apamenorum* was transferred to Egypt, where it is first attested in A.D. 145 (Degrassi 114). It is hard to see any reason for the move in the decade after Arrian's encounter with the Alani; one thinks rather of the Jewish insurrection of 115-117. More importantly, Arrian's text suggests that the Ἀπλανοί were something other than a cohort of archers. They are described as ὅπλιται (14); and they do not appear in the list of specialized *cohortes sagittariorum* (18; see below, n.80). Nor is the corruption (Ἀπαμνηοί to Ἀπλανοί) particularly easy to explain.

⁶⁵ *Ect.* 11-12, 14, 25, 30.

⁶⁶ A *vexillatio* from XII Fulminata is named on a dedication to Hadrian found in Jerusalem (R. Savignac, *Revue biblique* 1904.94 ff). *AE* 1962.274, found near Caesarea, may also date from Hadrian's reign (B. Lifschitz, *Latomus* 31 [1962] 149).

equally he may have remained at his headquarters at Melitene, while the action took place to the north in Lesser Armenia. XV Apollinaris was quartered at Satala, just above the headwaters of the Euphrates in Lesser Armenia. That is the area from which Arrian's native levies were derived — from Lesser Armenia itself, from Trapezus immediately to the north, and from Colchis and Rhizus on the adjacent east coast of the Black Sea.⁶⁷ The action was clearly coordinated from Satala,⁶⁸ and it was confined to the extreme northwest of Cappadocia. Dio, it will be remembered, confirms that the Alani only touched upon the Roman province. We cannot be more precise, unfortunately, about the site of the battlefield. Arrian's narrative suggests the vicinity of a pass, and the action must have been on a main road, for the Alani were returning laden with booty after a successful expedition in Media and Armenia, and, unless their booty comprised mountain goats, they will not have taken to the wilderness. It seems to me that the mountain pass east of modern Erzurum on the ancient military road to Armenia would be an acceptable location; but there are other possibilities and no certainty is possible.

The threat was to the northeast sector of Arrian's province, but what kind of threat was presented? Arrian's defensive measures are anticipated primarily to repel a frontal attack by heavy mailed cavalry. Armored they certainly were, for Arrian envisages his men's pike blades turned aside by the enemy cuirasses (17), and their main offensive weapon was the long Sarmatian lance, which Arrian calls the *κοντός*.⁶⁹ This coheres with the descriptions given in Arrian's *Essay in Tactics*, written in 136/137. The typical mode of attack by the Sarmatians and Alani, he says, is a direct charge with lances to thrust aside the enemy defense, and it contrasts with the circling skirmishing tactics of the Armenians and Parthians.⁷⁰ Tacitus gives similar descriptions of Sarmatian cavalry in action both in Armenia and across the Danube, and he confirms that they were heavily mailed, used tactics of frontal assault, and relied on broadswords and long lances as offensive weapons.⁷¹ There is however,

⁶⁷ Cf. *Ect.* 7, 14. The significance of the *symmachiarii* for the location of the battle was noticed by H. F. Pelham, *Essays on Roman History* 227.

⁶⁸ On the strategic position of Satala see now T. B. Mitford, *JRS* 64 (1974) 165–166.

⁶⁹ *Ect.* 17 καὶ θυρεῶ <ῆ> καταφράκτῳ θώρακι ἐμπαγέντος τοῦ κοντοῦ. *Ect.* 31 πλαγίους μὲν αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι τοὺς ἵππους, πλαγίους δὲ τοὺς κοντούς. The latter passage must refer to the enemy, not to Arrian's own cavalry, of whom only a minority were armed with κοντοί (*Ect.* 22; cf. *Tact.* 4.7–9).

⁷⁰ *Tact.* 4.3; cf. 4.7; 11.2; 44.1.

⁷¹ *Tac. Hist.* 1.79.2–3; nihil ad pedestrem pugnam tam ignavum; ubi per turmas advenere vix ulla acies obsteterit. sed tum umido die et soluto gelu neque

a discordant note in the picture. At the end of the *Ectaxis* Arrian faces the possibility of enemy cavalry riding round his flanks. In that case, he says, the enemy and their *κοντοί* will be at right angles to his own rear defense of cavalry. They must therefore attack at close quarters with swords and battle axes (31). The manuscript breaks off with the words: οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι γυμνοὶ τε ὄντες καὶ τοὺς ἵππους γυμνοὺς ἔχοντες . . . As it stands, this is astounding. The whole weight of the evidence and the tenor of Arrian's orders is that the enemy striking force consisted of heavy cavalry, yet here he says explicitly that they were unarmored.⁷² Something must be wrong, and in all probability the text breaks off at a misleading point.

Some light is shed on the problem by the descriptions in Plutarch of the encounters between Parthian cataphracts and the troops of Lucullus and Crassus. These cataphracts were heavily armed and used long lances (*κοντοί*), yet they were vulnerable in two areas; the riders' thighs and horses' bellies were unprotected (Plutarch uses the word *γυμνά*).⁷³ It was at these vulnerable points that the Romans aimed — with telling effect. Now the Parthian mailed cavalry was borrowed from the Saca peoples of ancient Chorasmia,⁷⁴ the homeland both of the Alani and the Arsacid dynasty of Parthia, and it can be assumed that the two peoples used similar armament. That is probably the clue to the interpretation of Arrian. The Alani and their horses, he probably said, were unprotected

conti neque gladii, quos praelongos utraque manu regunt, usui. Compare Tac. *Ann.* 6.35.1-2, describing the Alani in A.D. 35

⁷² Pelham (above, n.67) 231, accepts the text at full value and talks of "the dreaded light horseman of the east."

⁷³ Plut. *Lucullus* 28.4: *κελεύσας μηδὲν ἔτι χρῆσθαι τοῖς ὕσσοις ἀλλ' ἐκ χειρὸς ἑκαστον διαλαβόντα παίειν τῶν πολεμίων κνήμας τε καὶ μηρούς, ἃ μόνα γυμνά . . . ἐστίν.* Plut. *Crassus* 25.8: *πολλοὶ δὲ τοὺς ἐαυτῶν ἀπολείποντες ἵππους καὶ ὑποδύμενοι τοῖς ἐκείνων ἔτυπτον εἰς τοὺς γαστέρας.* Lucullus' tactics at Tigranocerta strongly resemble Arrian's in other ways; note particularly his order to the cavalry to charge at the enemy flank, *ἐκ πλαγίου προσφερομένους παρακρούεσθαι ταῖς μαχαίραις τοὺς κοντοὺς* (Plut. *Lucullus* 28.2-3; cf. Arr. *Ect.* 31). The battle of Tigranocerta occurred two centuries before Arrian, but the mailed cavalymen seem to have evolved remarkably little. The *clibanarii* of Sasanid times were vulnerable in precisely the same way (cf. R. M. Rattenbury, "An Ancient Armoured Force," *CR* 56 [1942] 113-116).

⁷⁴ On the mailed cavalry of Chorasmia see B. Rubin, "Die Entstehung der Kataphraktenreiterei im Lichte der chorasmischen Ausgrabungen," *Historia* 4 (1955) 264-283; J. W. Eadie, "The Development of Roman Mailed Cavalry," *JRS* 57 (1967) 161 ff (esp. 162-163). The Saca peoples (Massagetae and Dahae) had fully evolved a heavy cavalry, with both horse and rider armored, by the time of Alexander the Great (Arr. *Anab.* 3.13.5; Curt. 4.9.3).

in the thighs and belly and *nowhere else*. These were the areas for his own cavalry to aim for. The text may have continued on these lines: τοὺς ἵππους γυμνοὺς ἔχοντες οὐδαμοῦ, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τοὺς μηρούς καὶ γαστέρας . . . >

The challenge to Arrian's generalship was the offensive power of the mailed cavalry. How did he respond to it? The earlier part of the *Ectaxis* is somewhat unhelpful in this respect. As far as can be seen, Arrian's advance to battle is comparable to the great columns of march led by Vespasian into Galilee and by Titus through Samaria. These are described in detail by Josephus and represented as orthodox procedure: καθὰ Ῥωμαίοις σύνηθες.⁷⁵ The similarities with the *Ectaxis* are the segregation of cavalry in the vanguard, the placing of the siege engines in front of the legionary troops and the baggage train at the rear of the column, and the ceremonial progress of legionary legates and tribunes with the eagles, each surrounded with his own guard. This latter feature seems to have been standard in Roman armies on the march; Tacitus' description of Vitellius' march on Rome is almost a translation of Arrian: "ante aquilas praefecti castrorum tribunique et primi centurionum candida veste."⁷⁶ There are, however, peculiar features in Arrian's column of march. He seems particularly concerned with the protection of the flank, making sure that there is a cavalry screen for all the infantry groups. The cavalry of the auxiliary cohorts are explicitly detailed for flank guards, and the entire legionary column seems to have been flanked by a single file of auxiliary cavalry.⁷⁷ A similar safeguard is Arrian's placing a contingent of marksmen at the head of each section of the column; the cavalry are preceded by horse archers; archers again are placed at the head of the auxiliary foot, and in advance of the legionary standards there is a body of ἀκοντισταί.⁷⁸ It looks as though Arrian was anticipating attack even before he reached his chosen battle ground, and he took advance precautions. The cavalry flank guard would frustrate a massed attack on the side of the column and hold up the charge while the infantry aligned itself for defense; at the same time the archers of the army were in a position where they could almost instantly give the

⁷⁵ Jos. *Bj* 5.47-50; 3.115-120.

⁷⁶ Tac. *Hist.* 2.89.2; compare Arrian *Ect.* 5. Cf. A. von Domaszewski, *Rh. Mus.* 57 (1902) 512.

⁷⁷ *Ect.* 4 τὰς δὲ πλευρὰς τῆς τάξεως φυλαττόντων ἐκατέρωθεν οἱ ἵππεῖς οἱ οἰκεῖοι. *Ect.* 9 φυλακῆς δὲ ἕνεκα <ή> ἐῖλη ἡ Γαλατικὴ περιπνεύτω . . . καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἵππεῖς.

⁷⁸ *Ect.* 1, 4: αὐτῶν δὲ τούτων ὅσοι τοξόται ἡγείσθων. 5: πρὸ δὲ τοῦ σημείου αὐ τῶν πεζῶν οἱ ἀκοντισταί τετάχθων.

concerted firepower which Arrian believes is his principal trump card in the coming battle.⁷⁹ We should incidentally note the preponderance of archers in the auxiliary forces. Of nine *cohortes equitatae* present in Arrian's column no less than five seem to have comprised archers,⁸⁰ and he seems deliberately to have concentrated the greatest possible fire power in his army.

We must move now to the actual dispositions for battle. Arrian's position is entirely defensive, the legionary infantry forming a solid barrier across the plain and extending into the hills on both sides.⁸¹ The wings are formed from the native Armenian and Cappadocian troops, predominantly light infantry, and on each extremity there is a small advance guard of heavy infantry from the auxiliary cohorts.⁸² This accounts for the entire front line. The second line of defense consists of archers, all infantry from the auxiliary cohorts, deployed in an extended line behind the legionary infantry.⁸³ In the rear are assembled the cavalry, again with the horse archers to the fore.⁸⁴ Except for these archers the cavalry will have no role in the battle itself. They will take the brunt of the pursuit and counter any flanking move by the enemy, but it is not anticipated that the cavalry will participate in the engagement proper.⁸⁵ In fact Arrian is optimistic that there will be no hand-to-hand fighting. If his lethal barrage of missiles is successful, the Alani will retreat before even coming to blows with the Roman infantry.⁸⁶ The infantry are intended to be an impenetrable wall if the enemy pursue their charge after the artillery is exhausted. Finally, if in despair they attempt to encircle the Roman line, they are to be met with a murderous charge by

⁷⁹ *Ect.* 25-26.

⁸⁰ Cohors III Ulpia Petraeorum (*Ect.* 1); cohors Itracorum (*Ect.* 1, 18); cohors III Cyrenaica; cohors I Bosporana (*Ect.* 3, 18); cohors I Numidarum. Men from these cohorts provide virtually all the auxiliary foot. No infantry are attested from the cohors IV Rhaetorum, cohors I Rhaetorum, and cohors I Germanorum. The only heavy infantry (ὀπλίται) from the auxiliary forces seem to be the men of the cohors Italica C.R. (*Ect.* 13) and the Ἀπλανοί (*Ect.* 14).

⁸¹ *Ect.* 12-15.

⁸² *Ect.* 12-13, cf. 30: ἀνατείνεσθαι μὲν <ἐς> τὰ ὑπερδεξιώτερα ἔτι τὰ κέρατα αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς τοξείας.

⁸³ *Ect.* 18-19. The catapults are intermingled at strategic intervals from end to end of the line.

⁸⁴ *Ect.* 20-21.

⁸⁵ *Ect.* 21: ὅσοι δὲ λογχοφόροι ἢ κοντοφόροι ἢ πελεκοφόροι εἰς τὰ πλάγιά τε ἐκατέρωθεν ὁρώντων [ἡ] καὶ τὸ ξύνθημα προσμενόντων. Cf. *Ect.* 27-28, 31.

⁸⁶ *Ect.* 25-26, cf. 26: καὶ ἐλπίς μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδιηγῆτου πλήθους τῶν βελῶν μηδὲ πλείον πελάσειν τῇ περικῇ φάλαγγι ἐπελάνοντας τοὺς Σκύθας.

the Roman heavy cavalry, already drawn up in anticipation of the move.⁸⁷ It seems as formidable and unyielding a defense as could be devised with the forces at Arrian's disposal.

It is the legionary infantry, the men of XV Apollinaris and XII Fulminata, who form the core of the defense. Arrian gives detailed instructions for their role in the battle, and we see Roman legions fighting in a totally unprecedented fashion. The legionaries are drawn up in a solid mass, eight ranks deep, for all the world like an archaic phalanx of the Hellenistic period. Significantly Arrian describes the formation in the technical language he uses in the *Anabasis* to describe the phalanx of Alexander.⁸⁸ What is more, the troops are not uniformly armed. They are divided into two distinct groups, the *κοντοφόροι*, who were equipped with long thrusting pikes, and the *λογχοφόροι*, whose weapon was a lighter missile javelin. The division of the legions seems to have persisted, as did the nomenclature, for during the 160s Lucian of Samosata traveled to the Pontic coast with an escort from the army of Cappadocia — a *λογχοφόρος* and a *κοντοφόρος*.⁸⁹ Both the division of the legions and the battle technique are new phenomena in Roman history,⁹⁰ and it invites speculation precisely when and why the new departure was made. That question, however, must be deferred until we have considered how the legionary infantry was to be used.

Unfortunately there is a contradiction in the text of the *Ectaxis*. To begin with, Arrian gives seemingly precise details. The phalanx is to be eight ranks deep, the first four comprising *κοντοφόροι* and the rear ranks *λογχοφόροι*.⁹¹ The more important role is played by the *κοντοφόροι*, who use their weapons directly against the charge. The front rank levels its weapons against the horses' chests, while the third and fourth ranks aim indiscriminately at horses and riders, as the opportunity presents itself. There is a lacuna in the text where we expect to find a reference to the role of the second rank.⁹² Perhaps they were ordered to aim

⁸⁷ *Ect.* 26–27 (infantry); *Ect.* 30–31 (defense against a flanking move).

⁸⁸ *Ect.* 15–17. See section 3 for discussion of the terminology.

⁸⁹ Lucian *Alexander* 55.

⁹⁰ Contrast Tacitus' description of the Roman defense against Sarmatian heavy cavalry in A.D. 69. There is no suggestion that they used long pikes in defense: *Romanus miles facilis lorica et missili pilo aut lanceis adsultans* (*Hist.* 1.79.4).

⁹¹ *Ect.* 15–17: τετάχθων δὲ ἐπὶ ὀκτώ . . . καὶ αἱ μὲν πρῶται τέσσαρες τάξεις ἕστωσαν κοντοφόρων . . . αἱ δὲ ἐφεξῆς τάξεις τῶν λογχοφόρων ἕστωσαν.

⁹² The archetype (the tenth-century codex Laurentianus gr. 55.4) reads οἱ δέ (followed by a gap of about twenty letters to the end of the line) ὑπεροστάται δὲ καὶ οἱ τῆς τρίτης καὶ τετάρτης τάξεως. In the Didot edition Müller ignored the

specifically at the riders, in which case they and the first rank held their pikes at fixed targets, the charging horses and their riders, while the third and fourth ranks hit out at whatever openings were left. The text may be lacunose, but so far it is unambiguous.

A few paragraphs later (26) Arrian repeats his instructions for repelling the direct charge. The first three ranks, he says, are to meet the onslaught in closest formation; the fourth is to hurl its javelins (λόγχοι) over the preceding ranks, while the third strikes out unstintingly with its κοντοί against horses and riders alike.⁹³ As the passage stands, it is glaringly inconsistent. Only three ranks instead of four have κοντοί and there is no reference to the rear ranks of λογχοφόροι. Either Arrian is writing fiction, and incompetent fiction, or the text is corrupt. Corruption is certainly the more plausible alternative and in my opinion a lacuna is the most probable type of error; as it stands, the text of the *Ectaxis* is demonstrably honeycombed with lacunae. If we assume a break after τὴν τετάρτην δέ, we may suppose that Arrian gave precise instructions to the fourth rank about the use of their κοντοί, instructions which involved a reference to the λογχοφόροι. It will have to be a fairly extensive break in the text, including quite specific orders to balance the enigmatic command to the third rank to use their κοντοί on horses and riders

gap in the manuscript and read οἱ δευτεροστάται, lumping together the second, third, and fourth ranks. There are, however, other gaps in the text (20, 23), and each gap appears to denote a lacuna of indeterminate length (cf. n.142, below). It seems more likely that the men of the second rank were given separate instructions, which have been lost in the lacuna (e.g., οἱ δὲ <τῆς δευτέρας τάξεως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους αὐτοὺς τιθέντων τοὺς κοντούς> ὑστεροστάται δὲ [καὶ] οἱ τῆς τρίτης καὶ τετάρτης κτλ). In that case ὑπεροστάται must be emended to ὑστεροστάται, a simple correction which was given as the manuscript reading before Roos' edition. The meaning is "the men behind." Admittedly ὑστεροστάται is not found outside this passage, but it is a legitimate compound and scarcely more obscure than Müller's δευτεροστάται a word attested elsewhere only in Themistius (*Orat.* 13.175 B), and then in a nonmilitary context. The principal difficulty is the first καί. On my interpretation the ὑστεροστάται are the third and fourth ranks, not an additional category of troops. There are two alternatives; either, as Professor Badian has suggested to me, καί is used epexegetically in the sense "namely," or it is an intrusion, a gloss by a scribe who misunderstood the context. The theory of an epexegetic καί is superficially the more attractive, but it is difficult to find a parallel in Arrian's work. On the other hand the intrusive καί is relatively frequent in the codex Laurentianus (cf. *Ect.* 9, 13–14; *Tact.* 25.5). I would opt tentatively for the second alternative.

⁹³ *Ect.* 26: δέχεσθαι τὴν προσβολὴν τὰς πρώτας τρεῖς τάξεις . . . τὴν τετάρτην δὲ ὑπερακοντίζειν τὰς λόγχας· καὶ τὴν τρίτην παίειν ἢ ἀκοντίζειν τοῖς κοντοῖς ἀφειδῶς ἐς τε ἵππους καὶ αὐτούς.

alike.⁹⁴ Possibly the *κοντοί* were only long enough for the first three ranks to thrust at the enemy as a body (in Polybius' day only the first five ranks of the phalanx could thrust their gigantic *sarisae* effectively at the enemy⁹⁵). The fourth rank would have been used in reserve in case of casualties in front. In that case they might need a warning to keep their weapons in couched position so as not to interfere with the flow of javelins from the rear. I assume therefore a supplement on the following lines: τὴν τετάρτην δὲ ὑπερέχειν τοὺς κοντοὺς, εἴ ποτε ἱππότας τινας καταβάλλοιεν, μηδὲ ὄρθοις ἀνατείνειν, ὥς καὶ τοῖς λογχοφόροις ἐξείη > ὑπερακοντίζειν τὰς λόγχας. In other words, the fourth rank was to keep its *κοντοί* couched above the phalanx in order to use them intermittently on any enemy rider who came within range, but not held so high as to deflect the javelins from the rear. The third rank by contrast was in action continuously and used its weapons unstintingly (ἀφειδῶς).

It is clear that the first four ranks, the *κοντοφόροι*, were the *robur exercitus*. What kind of weapon did they use? It is interesting that Arrian uses Hellenistic technical terms to describe the maneuvers of his infantry phalanx but does not call their weapons *σάρισαι* or *δόρατα*, the words he uses in the *Anabasis* for the Macedonian pikes.⁹⁶ Instead he uses the word *κοντός* a technical term in the Roman period for the long thrusting lances of the Sarmatian cavalry and the Roman auxiliary squadrons modeled upon them.⁹⁷ We should expect Arrian's legionaries to have used the same type of weapon, a long thick wooden stock tipped with a long tapering head, which Arrian claims was annoyingly malleable.⁹⁸ Scholars, however, have been reluctant to accept this conclusion, and it is usually assumed that the legionary *κοντός* was no more than an

⁹⁴ Mommsen suggested altering τὴν τρίτην to τὴν πρώτην (in A. Eberhard's second edition of Hercher's Teubner text [Leipzig 1885] p. 1); but this produces yet another inconsistency. At *Ect.* 16 the first rank was ordered to aim at the horses' chests alone, whereas now they are told to aim at horses and riders alike, the instructions previously given to the third and fourth ranks (17).

⁹⁵ Polybus 18.30.1-4; cf. Arr. *Tact.* 12.10, with Asclepiodotus 5 and Aelian 14.

⁹⁶ Cf. Arr. *Tact.* 3.2: δόρατα, ὥς Ἕλληνες, ἢ σαρίσας, ὥς Μακεδόνες. (cf. *Anab.* 1.4.1). For Arrian's use of *δόρυ* see *Anab.* 1.6.1-4.

⁹⁷ Cf. Arr. *Tact.* 4.7-9; 44.1. In the Jewish Wars the Roman cavalry had been equipped with a *κοντός ἐπιμήκης* in addition to their regular throwing spears (Jos. *Bj* 3.96). By the time of Trajan regular units of *contarii* were part of the Roman auxiliary forces (for representations see the tombstones published by J. Baradez, *Libyca* 2 [1954] 122 f, 147, plates 12, 15); an *ala I Ulpia contariorum* was stationed at Arrabona in Pannonia Superior (*CIL* III 4359-4362; J. W. Eadie, *JRS* 57 [1967] 166-167).

⁹⁸ *Ect.* 16: οἷς δὲ <τοῖς> κοντοῖς μακρὰ καὶ ἐπὶ λεπτόν τὰ σιδήρια προῆκται. *Ect.* 17: διὰ μαλακότητα τοῦ σιδήρου ἐπικαμφθέντος.

especially heavy *pilum*, which could be thrown as well as thrust.⁹⁹ Arrian's terminology is at fault, for he twice uses wording which implies that the *κοντός* might be thrown.¹⁰⁰ The words used, *ἀκοντισμός* and *ἀκοντίζειν*, can of course denote throwing a javelin, and they are frequently used in that sense. But in the *Anabasis* Arrian also uses the noun *ἀκοντισμός* in contexts which exclude throwing, to describe the Macedonian cavalry lunging with their single lance.¹⁰¹ What is more, in the first passage of the *Ectaxis* (17) one of the instructions given to the men of the third and fourth ranks is to disable the oncoming riders, if the points of their *κοντοί* are deflected by an enemy cuirass or shield.¹⁰² Arrian is surely thinking of using the stock of the weapon as a lever to unseat the riders. Such a tactic was obviously impossible if the legionaries had already thrown their *κοντοί*. I therefore interpret *προβεβλήσθων εἰς ἀκοντισμόν* as "have their *κοντοί* couched for lunging wherever they find a mark" (the men of the first and second ranks held their *κοντοί* rigid to impale the charging horses and riders).

The second passage is more problematic; the men of the third rank are ordered *παίειν ἢ ἀκοντίζειν τοῖς κοντοῖς* (26). It would be possible to interpret this phrase "strike or stab," were it not that Arrian uses the simple verb *ἀκοντίζειν* a mere eight words after the compound *ὑπερακοντίζειν*, which undoubtedly implies throwing. In such close proximity it would be stylistically inelegant for the verbs to have substantially different meanings. It is important to notice, however, that it is the third rank alone which is given the instruction to throw (*ἀκοντίζειν*). Arrian may be envisaging a situation where a member of the front rank had stopped an enemy horse just out of range of the *κοντοί* of the third rank. A man might then use his *κοντός* as a missile to unseat the rider, but the circumstances would be unusual. The *κοντός*

⁹⁹ E.g., Schulten, *RE* XX 1336; F. Kiechle (below, n.104) 94.

¹⁰⁰ *Ect.* 17: *ἐς ἀκοντισμόν προβεβλήσθων τοὺς κοντούς. Ect.* 26: *ἀκοντίζειν τοῖς κοντοῖς.*

¹⁰¹ Cf. *Anab.* 1.2.6; 3.15.2. At *Anab.* 5.17.3 Arrian describes the Macedonian phalanx in action against the elephants of King Porus and uses the terminology *ἀκοντίζοντες* and *ἐσακοντίζοντες*. Unfortunately these words do not necessarily refer to the 12 cubit *sarisa*. The phalangites also used a lighter missile javelin, described in the vulgate story of the single combat between Corrhagus and Dioxippus (Diod. 17.100.6; Curt. 9.6.19–21). The blade of such a weapon has been found in a fourth-century warrior tomb at Vergina, lying alongside the metal parts of a *sarisa* (M. Andronicos, *BCH* 94 [1970] 98–101).

¹⁰² *καὶ θυρεῶ <ἢ> καταφράκτῳ θώρακι ἐμπαγέντος τοῦ κοντοῦ καὶ . . . ἐπικαμφθέντος ἀχρεῖον τὸν ἀναβάτην ποιήσοντας.* The text can hardly refer to the rear ranks throwing their *κοντοί* after the weapons of the first two ranks had stuck; that would be intolerably elliptical.

was clearly not intended primarily as a throwing weapon, and Arrian's whole defense presupposes that the first two ranks at least presented a solid fence of steel against the charge. I am assuming that the *κοντός* was a thrusting weapon resembling the Macedonian *sarisa*, although it was shorter and had a more tapering blade. The Sarmatian cavalry would have been faced with a most formidable barrier of pikes, the front row directed against the horses' chests and the inner ranks at the riders themselves. It is not surprising that Arrian had no worries about his line breaking and envisaged an immediate retreat by the enemy.¹⁰³

There is no previous record of Roman legions acting in a remotely comparable way, and we are faced with a new departure. But what exactly was this departure? Ten years ago Kiechle wrote a searching and rightly celebrated monograph on the description of Roman cavalry training methods in the *Essay on Tactics*.¹⁰⁴ It was his contention that Hadrian's reign witnessed a reintroduction of Hellenistic phalanx tactics, specifically designed to counter the heavy cavalry of the Sarmatians and Parthians. Far from a futile exercise in antiquarianism, Arrian's section on the Macedonian phalanx in his *Tactica* was a serious contribution to contemporary military theory. As Arrian shows in the *Ectaxis*, phalanx fighting was no longer a thing of the remote past but a feature of contemporary military technique. The tactics, moreover, survived the reign of Hadrian, to be used as late as the Persian campaign of Severus Alexander.¹⁰⁵ For Kiechle, then, the new tactics of the *Ectaxis* were in fact a readaptation of the infantry tactics of the Hellenistic era, not a completely new development.

The hypothesis is interesting but, I think, unacceptable. In the first place, as Kiechle admits, the tactics described in the *Ectaxis* bear little or no resemblance to the complex maneuvers of the Hellenistic phalanx.¹⁰⁶ The formation is static, carefully devised for defensive purposes alone, and the phalanx is composite comprising two different types of weapon, the pike and the javelin. By contrast the phalanx

¹⁰³ *Ect.* 27. Arrian envisages two possibilities, either an outright flight or an attempt by the enemy to circumvent the flanks. He does not seriously consider a break-through, even if he extends his line into the hills and reduces the depth of the center (*Ect.* 30).

¹⁰⁴ F. Kiechle, "Die 'Taktik' des Flavius Arrianus," *Bericht der röm.-germ. Kommission* 45 (1964) 87-129. There is a separate section (108-114) dealing with phalanx tactics in the imperial period.

¹⁰⁵ Herod. 6.5.9; cf. HA *Severus Alexander* 50.5.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Kiechle 114: "Die Phalanx, die Arrian in seiner *Ἑκταξίς κατὰ Ἀλανῶν* in Aktion schildert, unterscheidet sich erheblich von jener, die er in den ersten 32 Kapiteln seiner 'Taktik' theoretisch darstellt."

Arrian describes in the earlier part of his *Tactica* is uniformly armed with spears and *sarisae*. He lists only the Greek and Macedonian weapons, whereas in his description of cavalry weapons he is careful to describe the Roman armament as well.¹⁰⁷ The impression is given that the phalanx tactics he describes have nothing to do with the Roman army. What is more, the bulk of the material in the infantry section of the *Tactica* consists of explanation of the Hellenistic nomenclature for subdivisions of the phalanx and for the complex changes of depth and formation which were the stock-in-trade of the Hellenistic phalanx but quite impossible for the miscellaneous legionary phalanx of Arrian.¹⁰⁸ Above all it was the momentum of the charge which made the Hellenistic phalanx so formidable; this is the aspect most stressed by Polybius and by Arrian himself. The legionary phalanx, on the contrary, was for defensive purposes only.¹⁰⁹ Arrian himself stresses its limitations in the one passage of the *Tactica* where the contemporary infantry phalanx makes its appearance. One of the purposes of the close-packed phalanx (φάλαγξ πυκνότερα) was to stem a charge — καθάπερ πρὸς τοὺς Σαυρομάτας τε καὶ τοὺς Σκύθας χρὴ τάττειν.¹¹⁰ This does refer to contemporary tactics, but it is a unique reference. The offensive use of the phalanx is illustrated not from contemporary history but by Epaminondas' tactics at Leuctra and Mantinaea. We cannot explain this by Arrian's antiquarianism alone, for he goes out of his way to argue that the Roman *testudo* — a formation wholly typical of the Roman legion of classical times — was an imitation of the συνασπισμός of the Hellenistic phalanx.¹¹¹ It seems to me that the defensive use of the phalanx was the only thing Arrian saw in common between the Roman and Hellenistic military institutions. Arrian himself almost says as much. Contemporary infantry training he has described in a separate

¹⁰⁷ Arr. *Tact.* 3.2. Compare the description of cavalry armament in *Tact.* 4; 4.1-6 follows the description of Aelian (2.11-13), but there is an appendix by Arrian himself on Roman cavalry equipment (4.7-9).

¹⁰⁸ The individual phalanx maneuvers are summarized at *Tact.* 20 and described in the following chapters.

¹⁰⁹ Polybius 18.29.1; cf. Arr. *Tact.* 12.10. By contrast compare *Ect.* 29. Even in pursuit the legionary phalanx is only to be used in case the enemy wheel to the attack, serving always as a προβολή πρὸ τῶν ἱππέων.

¹¹⁰ *Tact.* 11.2. Apart from this chapter there are only four references to Roman techniques in the early part of the *Tact.* (2.2; 4.7-8; 18.3; 19.2), and none of them have to do with infantry fighting.

¹¹¹ *Tact.* 11.4-6. Arrian's description makes it clear that it was only the tightness of formation which was common to the Roman and Hellenistic maneuvers.

monograph, written for Hadrian and now unhappily lost.¹¹² His brief survey of Greek and Macedonian tactics he has included for the devoted antiquarian — ὅστις μηδὲ τούτων ἀπείρως ἐθέλοι ἔχειν (*Tact.* 32.3). Nothing could be clearer. In Arrian's eyes the contemporary relevance of Hellenistic tactics is marginal.

The infantry tactics described in the *Ectaxis* are most likely to be contemporary developments, which bore fortuitous resemblances to Hellenistic practice. In that case we must look for the date and place of origin. The legion most prominent in the engagement is XV Apollinaris, a comparative newcomer to Cappadocia. Until the middle years of Trajan's reign it had served on the Danube and participated in the Dacian Wars. Almost certainly it moved with Trajan into Armenia and served throughout the Parthian Wars. After the withdrawal it was stationed at Satala in Lesser Armenia, where it remained for centuries as a permanent garrison.¹¹³ XV Apollinaris had recent active service in Mesopotamia, where the chief problem was that of countering cavalry assaults, and the practice of using the long infantry *κοντοί* may well have originated there. There is some evidence that similar tactics were used against the Parthians by the indigenous peoples of the Caucasus. In A.D. 35 the Iberians with their Sarmatian auxiliaries had driven the Parthians out of Armenia. The Parthian army had consisted of light horse-archers, and they were countered by a composite force; the Sarmatian cavalry charged head-on with lances and broadswords and the Caucasian infantry added their weight in unseating the enemy: "Sarmatae omisso arcu, quo brevius valent, contis gladiisque ruerent... iamque et Albani Hiberique prensare, detrudere."¹¹⁴ Tacitus' language is excessively brief and rhetorical, but it resembles Arrian's projected strategy so far as the infantry dislodge and unseat the enemy cavalry. They could well have been equipped with pikes similar to those used by Arrian's legionaries. It is, then, quite possible that the defensive tactics against cavalry had been evolved for generations in the east and that Trajan adapted them for his own infantry with the same resourcefulness

¹¹² *Tact.* 32.2. Arrian is not referring to a report written for Hadrian alone (so Schwartz, *RE* II 1233; Kiechle 88), but to a separate monograph written for a wider public (note his use of *συνέγραφα*).

¹¹³ For the history of XV Apollinaris during these years see E. Ritterling, *RE* XII 1285, 1754; F. A. Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian Wars* (1948) 176–177; T. B. Mitford, *JRS* 64 (1974) 168.

¹¹⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 6.35.1–2. The use of *detrudere* is especially significant (for other examples of its use in Tacitus see *Ann.* 15.4.3; *Hist.* 4.28.3 — dislodging attackers from a parapet) and recalls Arrian's instructions at *Ect.* 17.

that he showed in other directions. This was the period of Roman imitation of the Sarmatian heavy cavalry, which resulted in units such as the *ala I Ulpia contariorum*,¹¹⁵ and the period of a strong interest in archery and improved methods of archery training.¹¹⁶ Trajan's wars were the origin and proving ground of new techniques, and the armies of Hadrian were the inheritors. When Arrian was faced with the incursion by heavy cavalry into his province, he could immediately employ the techniques developed under Trajan — the defensive wall of infantry pikes backed by a hail of *ballista* missiles and arrows from the auxiliary troops, now largely archer corps developed during the Parthian Wars.

It would be interesting to trace the survival and further development of the tactics used by Arrian, but we are at the mercy of the wretched historical tradition of the second century, and there are almost no grounds for argument. All we can say is that the units described by Arrian survived in the Cappadocian army until the time of Lucian.¹¹⁷ It is tempting to use the evidence adduced by Kiechle from Severus Alexander's Persian Wars,¹¹⁸ but that evidence is very elusive. The sources, Herodian and the *Vita Alexandri*, differ fundamentally about the details and there are no criteria for distinguishing fact from fiction.¹¹⁹ In any case the *συνασπισμός* of the Roman legionaries described by Herodian is clearly an emergency expedient *in extremis*, hardly a practiced defensive maneuver.¹²⁰ There is perhaps one piece of information in the

¹¹⁵ For the *ala I Ulpia contariorum* see note 97, above.

¹¹⁶ See the remarks of E. Gabba in *La Persia e il Mondo greco-romano* (Rome: Acc. dei Lincei 1966) 72. The reign of Trajan witnessed a great expansion in the numbers of *cohortes sagittariorum*. At least eight *cohortes Ulpiae* are known to have been formed and there were probably many more. Cf. P. Lambrechts, "Notes sur les corps d'archers au haut empire" in F. Altheim/R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt I* (Berlin 1964) 661–677, esp. 663–664.

¹¹⁷ Lucian *Alexander* 55.

¹¹⁸ Kiechle 110–112, citing HA *Sev. Al.* 50.5; 56.2–5; Herod. 6.5.9.

¹¹⁹ A. Jardé, *Notes critiques sur la règne de Sévère Alexandre* (Paris 1925) 76–85, argues that Herodian's account is basically correct and that of the *Historia Augusta*, particularly Alexander's speech to the senate (56–57), is seriously distorted by official propaganda. Cf. also R. Syme, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta* (1967) 41, 45–47.

¹²⁰ Herod. 6.5.10: ἔσπε δὲ πάντες ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ συναλισθέντες καὶ τῇ τῶν ἀσπίδων προβολῇ ὥσπερ τειχίσαντες ἀπεμάχοντο ἐν σχήματι πολιορκίας. Herodian states that the whole Roman force was wiped out, a statement which Kiechle disputes and rejects in favor of the official reports of a great victory (HA *Sev. Al.* 56.2; Zonaras 12.15; Eutropius 8.23; Orosius 7.18.7; Aur. Victor 24.2). This leads him to a paradoxical position. The whole tenor and conclusion of Herodian's narrative is dismissed except for one feature, the *συνασπισμός*. This Kiechle interprets as a regular phalanx and goes so far as to attribute the hypothetical

Vita which is independent of the encomiastic battle report and may have some basis in fact. The young emperor had his troops composed into a phalanx on the Macedonian pattern with élite bodies of argyraspids and even chrysaepids.¹²¹ If this is true, there is a precedent in the *phalanx Alexandri* which Caracalla composed from specially recruited Macedonians, and, according to the contemporary Dio, he armed them in the antique Macedonian style, *sarisae* and hide helmets included.¹²² Caracalla's motives were certainly antiquarian, the phalanx itself the product of his obsession with Alexander the Great, but the formation of such a body would have been easier if Arrian's *κοντοί* were a standard feature of legionary equipment. The transition to *sarisae* and Macedonian phalanx drill would not have been too extreme. This is only a possibility, but I think it should be taken seriously. The rudimentary phalanx tactic used for defense in Arrian's time could have been the inspiration for the serious reintroduction by Caracalla of the Hellenistic phalanx.

We have now a fair idea of the tactics Arrian planned to use in the engagement. It is unfortunate that there is no detailed description of the battle itself, but we can infer from the epitome of Dio that the fighting was not serious. The Alani merely touched upon Cappadocia and they were scared off by Arrian.¹²³ Perhaps the intense preliminary barrage had the effect Arrian had hoped for, and there was no hand-to-hand fighting. The Alani were returning from a highly successful raid upon Media, laden with plunder and the tribute from Vologaeses. At the very entrance to Cappadocia they found their way barred by a solid fence of pikes, and there was no way of turning the flanks, thanks to the steepness of the hills and Arrian's flank guard. Any attempt at frontal attack would have been met by what Arrian calls "an ineffable number of

Roman success to it. It is a strange use of sources and a strange suggestion (I 12) that Herodian had heard of the crucial feature of the battle but misinterpreted it and turned it into a Roman defeat, a symptom of demoralization.

¹²¹ HA *Sev. Al.* 50.5. C. R. Whittaker, *Herodian* II (Loeb 1970) 103 n.4, says that little confidence can be placed in the passage, but he gives no reasons. Given the precedent of Caracalla, however, such *imitatio Alexandri* does not seem impossible. Even the grandiose corps of *chrysaepides* may have had some historical justification. Pollux 1.175 lists the term along with *πεζέταιροι* and *ἀργυράσπιδες*, and it may have been in use during the Hellenistic period.

¹²² Dio 78.7.1-2; cf. Herod. 4.9.4. Nero had allegedly formed a *phalanx Alexandri* (Suet. *Nero* 19.2) but that was merely a pretentious title given to his newly recruited *legio I Italica*. There was no attempt to introduce Macedonian armament or tactics.

¹²³ Dio 69.15.1 (quoted at n.4).

missiles" (26). It is hardly surprising that they considered discretion the better part of valor and retired across the Caucasus with their booty.

We must finally examine the form of the *Ectaxis* and the circumstances of its composition. Some problems must remain unresolved, in particular the question whether it was written as a separate monograph or originally formed part of a longer work. Both hypotheses have been argued, equally dogmatically and equally inconclusively.¹²⁴ It is known that Arrian wrote a monograph entitled *Ἀλανική*, but the testimonia are so scanty that it is impossible to form any conclusions about contents or economy.¹²⁵ The *Ectaxis* may be an extract from it, as Jacoby thought, but if so it is a curious extract. As it stands, our *Ectaxis* is a series of commands in a skillful literary form with studied alternation between the predominant third-person imperatives and the accusative/infinite construction. It is hard to see how it could have formed part of a larger work, except as a prebattle speech, and its length is such that its incorporation would have presented delicate problems of balance. Jacoby was of the opinion that the piece takes the form of an order of battle instead of historical narrative because there was no actual engagement with the Alani,¹²⁶ but, even so, nothing prevented Arrian from writing an account of his dispositions for battle in the sober indicative mood. The continuous imperatives remain a problem if the *Ectaxis* is interpreted as part of a larger work, and I incline, although without much confidence, to the hypothesis that it is a separate essay, a literary sidepiece like the *Periplus* to an official report to Hadrian.¹²⁷

One thing seems certain. The *Ectaxis* is a literary essay, not part of a training manual or a formal report. The style is intricate and of a piece

¹²⁴ Cf. E. Schwartz, *RE* II 1233: a sidepiece to a Latin report to Hadrian; K. Hartmann, "Flavius Arrianus und Kaiser Hadrian," *Progr. Augsburg*, 1907, 24: a separate monograph; F. Jacoby, *FGrH* II D 563: a portion of the *Ἀλανική*; Roos, *Arriani Scripta Minora* XXXI: a manual for the use of the Cappadocian army.

¹²⁵ Photius cod. 58: 17^a27 (Parthica F 1): συγγράφεται δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ Ἀλανούς, ἣν ἐπέγραψεν Ἀλανικήν. Lydus *De Mag.* 3.53 (Parthica F 6) states that Arrian described the Caspian Gates in his *Ἀλανική ἱστορία* (this he could have done in any context), and Procopius *De bell. Goth.* 4.14.47 f, cites Arrian's description of a town *Κοτιάϊον* on the Black Sea coast, possibly a reference to the *Ἀλανική* (Roos, *Mnemosyne* 54 [1926] 116). That is the sum total of the testimonia.

¹²⁶ Jacoby, *FGrH* II D 563.

¹²⁷ Arrian refers twice to his official report, the *Ῥωμαϊκὰ γράμματα* (*Periplus* 6.2; 10.1). Cf. G. Marengi, "Carattere e intenti del periplo di Arriano," *Athenaeum* 36 (1958) 177-192.

with Arrian's extant historical works. What is more, he writes pseudonymously, referring to himself baldly as Xenophon.¹²⁸ This is a part of the literary affectation whereby Arrian represented himself as the New Xenophon, and it is hardly likely that he would have kept up the affectation in an official document. Even in the *Periplus*, an overtly literary piece cast in the form of a letter to Hadrian, he refers to himself simply as Ἀρριανός in the dedication and confines his affectation to repeated citations of the "elder Xenophon."¹²⁹ The aims of the *Ectaxis* must be literary. The presentation, however, still remains a problem, for the string of imperatives is almost unique in Greek literature. There is one particular genre which may have given Arrian his inspiration. We know from the *Anabasis* that the historians of Alexander the Great gave detailed descriptions of the Macedonian battle order with parentheses describing the purpose of particular dispositions. These battle orders appear in the indicative in the *Anabasis*, but in Arrian's sources it may have been different. Aristobulus at any rate claimed to be reproducing the Persian order of battle at Gaugamela from Persian documents captured after the battle;¹³⁰ he may well have couched his version in the imperative. It is an interesting coincidence that the military regulations of Philip V from Amphipolis display exactly the same oscillation between accusative/infinitive and third-person imperatives that we find in the *Ectaxis*.¹³¹ The style of official orders may have been similar in Alexander's day. This is only a suggestion and, of course, unverifiable; but there is other evidence that indicates that in the *Ectaxis* Arrian was immediately influenced by the Alexander historians.

The argument rests primarily on vocabulary. As we have seen, the formation of Arrian's legionary troops resembled the Hellenistic phalanx in defense, and the terminology he uses is Hellenistic. The tight formation is a πυκνοτάτη σύγκλεισις and the front rank has its Hellenistic

¹²⁸ *Ect.* 10, 22. P. A. Stadter, "Flavius Arrianus: the New Xenophon," *GRBS* 8 (1967) 158–159, uses the references in the *Ectaxis* as proof that Arrian actually had the *cognomen* Xenophon. The epigraphic testimonia, however, seem decisive that Xenophon was never part of Arrian's official nomenclature. The name must have been assumed as a literary affectation.

¹²⁹ *Periplus* 1.1: Ἀντοκράτορι Καίσαρι Τραϊανῶ Ἀδριανῶ Σεβαστῶ Ἀρριανὸς χαίρειν. For the "elder Xenophon" see *Periplus* 12.5; 25.1.

¹³⁰ Arr. *Anab.* 3.11.3–7 = *FGrH* 139 F 17. Roos, *Arriani Scripta Minora* XXXI n.1, suggested the relevance of Aristobulus' order of battle without arguing the case in detail.

¹³¹ *Revue Archéologique* 3 (1934) 40: ἐφοδεύειν δὲ τὴν μὲν στρατηγίαν ἐκάστην κατὰ μέρος τοὺς τετράρχας ἄνευ φωτὸς καὶ τὸν συγκαθήμενον ἢ κα[θεύδον]τα φύλακα{ι} ζημιούτωσαν οἱ τετράρχαι.

nomenclature (πρωτοστάται).¹³² But Arrian goes further. When he refers to units of his army and positions of rank he generally uses the contemporary Greek technical terms familiar from epigraphical sources and from authors like Josephus. There are, however, striking exceptions. When he refers to the legions, he uses none of the standard Greek translations but talks of them as *phalanges*: ἡ πεντεκαίδεκάτη φάλαγξ.¹³³ This use is very rare indeed. *Phalanx* is a word widely used in both Greek and Latin to denote the entire battle line, especially when the line is closely packed,¹³⁴ but Arrian is the first to use it as a synonym of *legio*.¹³⁵ But there are parallels in the Alexander historians. Arrian occasionally refers to individual battalions of the Foot Companions of Alexander as φάλαγξ.¹³⁶ It is a rare use, even in the *Anabasis*, but it is confirmed by Latin glosses, which assert that *phalanx* was the Macedonian equivalent of the Roman *legio*.¹³⁷ It seems that Arrian has deliberately transferred a term familiar through his reading of the Alexander historians to describe his own legions and to suggest a parallel between the Roman and Macedonian armies.

There are other peculiarities of language. When he describes the battle stations of the cavalry, Arrian specifies that they are to be divided into εἰλαι and eight λόχοι (20). One of these terms is familiar; εἶλη is the standard Greek translation of *ala*, referring to the regular squadrons of auxiliary cavalry, four of which were included in Arrian's army. The

¹³² For πυκνή ξύγκλεισις compare *Anab.* 1.4.3; 1.6.2; 5.17.7 and the new papyrus fragment of the *Successors* (PSI 1284 = *Arriani Scripta Minora* p. 324: ὡς τὴν τε ξύγκλησιν τοῦ ξυνασπισμοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων πυκνὴν κατείδεν). Note also ἀλαλάζειν τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ (*Ect.* 25; cf. *Anab.* 1.14.7); εἰς προβολὴν ἐχόντων (*Ect.* 16; cf. *Anab.* 1.6.2). There is no parallel in the *Anabasis* for πρωτοστάται, but the usage is Hellenistic (cf. Polybius 18.30.3-4; Arr. *Tact.* 6.4-6; 12.6-10).

¹³³ *Ect.* 5-6, 15.

¹³⁴ Cf. Aelian 7: τὸ ὄλον σύστημα τοῦ πλήθους τῶν λόχων φάλαγξ καλεῖται. For some typical examples see Plut. *Flaminius* 8.6; Diod. 16.3.2.

¹³⁵ The most common terms, apart from the simple transliteration λεγέων are στρατόπεδον (Dio; Polybius), τάγμα (Strabo; Josephus; Dio 71.9.3); τέλος (Appian). Cf. D. Magie, *De Romanorum iuris publici sacrique vocabulis sollemnibus in Graecum sermonem conversis* (Leipzig 1905) 117-118. See also the list of terms given by H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions* (American Studies in Papyrology 13: Toronto 1974) 163-164. Apart from Arrian, only Herodian uses φάλαγξ as a synonym of *legio* (Herod. 4.15.1-4; 7.8.11; 8.2.2).

¹³⁶ Arr. *Anab.* 1.14.1-3; 3.9.6; 5.20.3; 5.21.5. Cf. H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich* I 114; F. Lammert, *RE* XIX 1645. Polyaeus 4.3.27 confirms that the usage goes back to the original Alexander historians, for he refers to the battalion of Perdicas as μίαν ὀπλιτῶν φάλαγγα (cp. Arr. 3.18.5).

¹³⁷ Isidore *Orig.* 9.3.46: proprie autem Macedonum phalanx, Gallorum caterva, nostra legio dicitur. Cf. Serv. *Ad Aen.* 11.92; 12.277.

λόχοι are more difficult to identify, but they look like the cavalry from the *cohortes equitatae* which Arrian commanded on this occasion.¹³⁸ λόχος is again not a regular unit of the Roman army, but it was used for the subdivisions of the ἱλαί of Alexander's Macedonian cavalry.¹³⁹ Once again Arrian may have borrowed his terminology from the Alexander historians.

Lastly we must turn to the description of the headquarter staff. This consisted partly of the regular detachments of *equites singulares*, specially trained men recruited from the auxiliary *alae*. Arrian describes them in a perfectly orthodox way as ἐπίλεκτοι ἵππεις.¹⁴⁰ He then mentions two hundred men from the infantry phalanx whom he calls σωματοφύλακες (22). According to Ritterling, these were the *beneficarii* of the legate's staff.¹⁴¹ Such *beneficarii*, however, were specially seconded to the legate and permanently attached to headquarters;¹⁴² there would seem no reason for Arrian to specify that they were drafted from the phalanx. What is more, after a lacuna Arrian mentions one hundred λογχοφόροι who were associated with him personally. Ritterling tried to identify these troops as *pedites singulares*, recruited from the auxiliary cohorts and independent of the phalanx σωματοφύλακες.¹⁴³ Against this suggestion is the minor awkwardness that λογχοφόροι is a standard term for the *beneficarii* not the *singulares*¹⁴⁴ and the major awkwardness that in his list of officers of the headquarters staff Arrian mentions only two groups, the ἐπίλεκτοι and the σωματοφύλακες.¹⁴⁵ There is no room for a third

¹³⁸ *Ect.* 20 speaks of a division κατὰ εἶλας καὶ λόχους ὀκτώ, and then describes precisely the position of the eight λόχοι. It looks as though they were separate from the regular *alae*, and they can hardly have been anything other than the cavalry components of the *cohortes*. Now there were nine *cohortes equitatae* represented in Arrian's army (cf. n.80); the *cohors III Cyrenaica*, however, was only represented by a *vexillatio* (cf. *Ect.* 3: οἱ παρόντες), and the cavalry seem to have been grouped with a *cohors Ityraeorum* (*Ect.* 1).

¹³⁹ Cf. Arr. 3.16.11. λόχος was also a technical term for a subdivision of the Macedonian phalanx battalions (*Anab.* 2.10.2; 3.9.6; Berve I 119).

¹⁴⁰ *Ect.* 22: οἱ δὲ ἐπίλεκτοι ἵππεις ἀμφ' αὐτὸν Ξενοφῶντα ἔστωσαν. For the terminology compare Josephus, *Bj* 3.120; 5.47.

¹⁴¹ E. Ritterling, "Eine Amtsbezeichnung der Beneficarii consularis im Museum zu Wiesbaden," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 125 (1919) 9-37, esp. 25-26.

¹⁴² G. R. Watson, *The Roman Soldier* (1969) 85-86, following A. von Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*², ed. B. Dobson (1967) 29-37.

¹⁴³ On the *pedites singulares* see von Domaszewski 36-37; M. P. Speidel, *AJP* 113 (1972) 299-305.

¹⁴⁴ See, explicitly, Josephus *Bj* 3.95: φέρουσι δ' οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπίλεκτοι πεζοὶ λόγῃν καὶ ἀσπίδα. Cf. Ritterling (above, n.141) 25.

¹⁴⁵ *Ect.* 22: καὶ ἑκατοντάρχαι ὅσοι τοῖς ἐπὶλέκτοις ξυντεταγμένοι ἢ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἡγεμονες καὶ δεκάρχαι οἱ τῶν ἐπὶλέκτων. There are three categories: (1) the cen-

group. It is surely best to suppose that the *σωματοφύλακες* were what Arrian implies, a guard of legionaries drafted from the phalanx, of whom one hundred would have been *κοντοφόροι* and one hundred *λογχοφόροι*. In the lacuna, which is of indeterminate length,¹⁴⁶ there were no doubt more specific details about Arrian's intended use of his headquarters staff. I am assuming that Arrian did not have a corps of *pedites singulares* recruited from the auxiliary foot but rather a guard of legionaries. Such an arrangement is rare but not unique. There are two known instances of *singulares* drafted from regular legionary troops.¹⁴⁷ Arrian's position in Cappadocia was unusual in that the auxiliary forces were predominantly cavalry; what infantry there was comprised largely archers. There may not have been the resources for a regular corps of auxiliary *singulares*, so that Arrian resorted to a guard drafted from his legions. This guard he describes as *σωματοφύλακες*, a word very rarely used in military contexts, except by Dio, who uses it as a synonym for the praetorians at Rome. Yet, once again, there was a corps of *σωματοφύλακες* in Alexander's army — the élite *agema* of the hypaspists, who formed the king's guard when he moved on foot.¹⁴⁸ It was a very appropriate term to transfer to Arrian's own legionary bodyguard.

No doubt the superficial similarities between Arrian's legionary infantry and Alexander's phalanx was one of the main reasons for the peculiar literary coloring of the *Ectaxis*. But Arrian's archaism goes beyond the description of his own troops. It is striking that when he refers to his enemies he names them not *Ἀλανοί* but *Σκύθαι*,¹⁴⁹ a description which is not only vague but misleading. The Alani were not Scyths proper but a branch of the Sarmatian peoples of South Russia, a fact of which Arrian was well aware, for in the *Tactica* he refers

turions of Arrian's *officium*, mounted because of their higher rank and brigaded with the *equites singulares*; (2) the centurions of the *σωματοφύλακες*; (3) the decurions of the *equites singulares*. The *σωματοφύλακες* ought logically to have been the governor's foot guard, the *pedites singulares*; such appears to have been Mommsen's opinion (Eberhard's second edition of Hercher's *Arriani Scripta Minora* XLIX).

¹⁴⁶ In the archetype, the codex Laurentianus (F), there is a gap of eight or nine letters. That may mean that precisely nine letters were illegible to the scribe, but it is more likely that a lacuna had already been noted (cf. Roos, *Scripta Minora* XXI) and the length of text missing was not known.

¹⁴⁷ *CIL* VI 3614: M. Messius M.f. Col. Pudens, singularis leg. X Fretensis; *ILS* 2364: Q. Aemilius Marinus, singularis of II Augusta.

¹⁴⁸ Arr. *Anab.* 3.17.2; 4.3.2; 4.30.3; cf. Berve I 122–123; W. W. Tarn, *Alexander The Great* II 138–141.

¹⁴⁹ *Ect.* 26, 31.

explicitly to Alani and Sarmatians.¹⁵⁰ It is true that there were confusions; Josephus, for instance, describes the Alani as a Scythian people by the Tanais.¹⁵¹ Arrian, however, had precise knowledge of the Alani and their origins, yet he refers to them inaccurately as Scyths. Once more the explanation can be found in the Alexander historians. Alexander encountered the Saca peoples of the Aral basin both in Darius' army at Gaugamela and in his own campaign in the steppes of Kazakhstan.¹⁵² On both occasions his adversaries included Massagetae, the people whom Arrian's contemporaries considered the forebears of the Alani. Now Arrian's sources refer to these Saca peoples under the generic name of Scyths, following the archaic ethnography of Hecataeus.¹⁵³ Once more it seems that the terminology of the *Ectaxis* is borrowed from the period of Alexander.

It is even possible that the example of Alexander influenced the very strategy used by Arrian. The most famous encounter between Alexander and the Saca mailed horsemen was the crossing of the river Iaxartes in 329, which Arrian described in book 4 of the *Anabasis*. That passage contains notable similarities with the *Ectaxis*. There is one possible verbal echo,¹⁵⁴ and several similarities of strategy. Both commanders rely on a battery of missiles to throw enemy horse and horsemen into confusion.¹⁵⁵ In the pursuit they both use waves of light infantry intermingled with the cavalry to hamper the maneuvers of the enemy.¹⁵⁶ In one respect Arrian may even have tried to outdo his great predecessor. Though a brilliant victory, Alexander's pursuit was inconclusive because of the extreme heat and a bout of dysentery. Arrian on the contrary arranges for an elaborate pursuit in relays to prevent his cavalry tiring.¹⁵⁷

I am not suggesting that Arrian wrote deliberate fiction or that he

¹⁵⁰ *Tact.* 4.3, 7 (ὡς Ἀλανοὶ καὶ Σαυρομάται); at *Tact.* 11.2 he refers to Sarmatians and Scyths together, and there is no reason to identify the Scyths as Alani.

¹⁵¹ *Jos. BJ* 7.244.

¹⁵² *Arr. Anab.* 3.8.3; 3.11.3, 6 (cf. *Curt.* 4.12.6-7); 3.13.2-4; 4.1.1; 4.3.6 ff; 16.4 — τῶν Σκυθῶν τῶν Μασσαγετῶν. Note that *Dio* 69.15.1 states that the Alani were of Massagetic origin.

¹⁵³ *Hdt.* 1.201 (εἰσὶ δὲ οὔτινες καὶ Σκυθικὸν λέγουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι); cp. 1.216; 7.64.2.

¹⁵⁴ *Anab.* 4.4.8: ἔνθα λαμπρὰ ἤδη φυγὴ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἦν. *Ect.* 27: εἰ μὲν φυγὴ λαμπρὰ γένηται.

¹⁵⁵ *Anab.* 4.4.4-5; cf. *Ect.* 25-26.

¹⁵⁶ *Anab.* 4.4.6; cf. *Ect.* 29.

¹⁵⁷ *Anab.* 4.4.9; cf. *Ect.* 28: ὡς εἰ μὲν φυγὴ καρτερὰ κατέχοι, ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν πρῶτην διώξιν ἀκμήτοις τοῖς ἵπποις.

deliberately imitated Alexander in battle. The tactics he used had probably been evolved during Trajan's Parthian Wars, and they were determined by the troops and armament he had at his disposal. The similarities of strategy were fortuitous. They were real enough, however, and Arrian was able to draw on his knowledge of Alexander and his own previous history of Alexander to give his account of the engagement with the Alani some of the color of the great period of Macedonian conquest. He was by no means unique in this. He had at least one great exemplar — Augustus himself. One of the showpieces of that emperor's autobiography was the account of his Illyrian campaign of 35–33 B.C., which he painted in the most glowing colors, stressing his personal bravery. In the summer of 35 he had been wounded in the assault upon the inner citadel of Metulum, when a bridge collapsed under him. It was a famous episode, mentioned in all sources for the campaign,¹⁵⁸ and, not surprisingly, Augustus made it a highlight of his work. That we can infer from Appian's *Illyrike*, which at this stage is avowedly a digest of the autobiography.¹⁵⁹ What is startling, however, is that the incident unmistakably assumes the color of Alexander's attack upon the Malli town, with Augustus cast in the role of the Macedonian conqueror. The emperor, watching from a tower, noticed the assault flagging and his men discouraged.¹⁶⁰ He therefore took the offensive himself and crossed the one remaining bridge accompanied only by four officers and a few hypaspists.¹⁶¹ The rest of the army was overcome by shame and rushed

¹⁵⁸ Pliny *NH* 7.148; Suet. *Aug.* 20; Flor. 2.23; Dio 49.35.2. Cf. J. J. Wilkes *Dalmatia* (1969) 51–52, briefly noting the parallel with Alexander.

¹⁵⁹ App. *Illyr.* 14.42: ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι τοῦ δευτέρου Καίσαρος, τοῦ κληθέντος καὶ Σεβαστοῦ, παλαιότερον μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐν τοῖσδε περὶ Παιόνων εὔρον κτλ. See A. Migheli, *Annali Fac. Lettere Cagliari* 21 (1953) 197–217, who argues that the entire section is a digest of the Autobiography. Cf. also W. Schmitthenner, *Historia* 7 (1958) 225–226.

¹⁶⁰ App. *Illyr.* 19.55–56; cp. Arr. *Anab.* 6.9.2. The detail about the Macedonians slacking is unique to Arrian (Curt. 9.4.32 makes the troops falter *after* Alexander took the offensive), and, since the delinquents are stated to have been Perdiccas' men, we may assume that the source of the information was Ptolemy (R. M. Errington, *CQ* 19 [1969] 237 ff).

¹⁶¹ App. *Illyr.* 20.56–57; συνέθεον δ' αὐτῷ τῶν ἡγεμόνων Ἀγρίππας τε καὶ Ἰέρων καὶ ὁ σωματοφύλαξ Λούτος καὶ Οὐόλας . . . καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ὀλίγοι. Cp. Arr. 6.9.3; Curt. 9.5.5–18; Plut. *Al.* 63.5; *De Al. fort.* 1.327 B. The number of Alexander's defenders was controversial even in antiquity (cf. Arr. 6.11.7 f), and the incident became a subject of propaganda (Errington, *CQ* 19 [1969] 235) Curtius names four defenders, of whom Leonnatus was a σωματοφύλαξ and Peucestas (agreed by all the sources to have been present) was bearer of the sacred shield of Athena. Alexander's hypaspists, moreover, were the troops most immediately involved in the storming of the Malli town (Arr. 6.9.4).

to his defense to such effect that the bridge collapsed under their weight.¹⁶² Although he sustained injuries to the leg and shoulder, he displayed himself to his men to prevent rumors that he had been killed.¹⁶³ Point for point this parallels Alexander's actions at the Malli town. Augustus could hardly represent himself trapped like Alexander in the inner citadel, but, given the smaller dimensions of the action, he made the parallel close, and no contemporary would have missed it. Like Arrian he used the Macedonian terminology; Appian describes the praetorians of his guard as *hypaspists*, a specifically Macedonian term,¹⁶⁴ and one of his four companion officers was a *σωματοφύλαξ*, like Leonnatus at the Malli town. There is no doubt that Augustus represented himself very obviously as the contemporary Alexander. The propaganda implications were clear.

Arrian's *imitatio Alexandri* is more modest. He does not model his order of battle point for point on Alexander's crossing of the Iaxartes but borrows the terminology of the Alexander historians to suggest the parallel more subtly. Part of the reason was antiquarian. Arrian was acutely conscious of his Greek background and the glories of the past. Like Aelian in the reign of Trajan he felt that Greek military science reached its acme with the Macedonian phalanx, and in the *Tactica* he placed the antique phalanx discipline alongside the training routine of the contemporary Roman cavalry.¹⁶⁵ The two types of fighting are implicitly compared but they are kept apart as fundamentally different. In the *Ectaxis*, however, contemporary and archaic terminology is fused together. Arrian's army is Roman, but its maneuvers bear the stamp of Macedon. The *Ectaxis* indeed seems the work of Arrian which expresses most fully his dual role as Greek author and Roman *vir militaris*. Arrian also emulates Alexander, and it is hardly surprising that he felt pride in his achievement against the Alani. He had protected his province from invasion, pursued the invaders into the depths of the Caucasus, and

¹⁶² App. *Illyr.* 20.57; cf. Arr. 6.9.4; Curt. 9.4.33; Diod. 17.98.6.

¹⁶³ App. *Illyr.* 20.58: ἀνέδραμε δ' ὁμῶς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν πύργον μετὰ τῶν συμβόλων καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔδειξεν ἔρρωμένον, μή τις . . . γένοιτο θόρυβος. Cp. Arr. 6.12.2; Curt. 9.5.29-30, and Arr. 6.13.1-3; Curt. 9.6.1-2.

¹⁶⁴ The term does occur out of Macedonian contexts: e.g., Dio 75.11.3 (Severus' ὑπασπισταί); 78.26.5; 'Suda' s.v. ὑπασπιστής: τῷ δὲ Χοσρόῳ ὑπασπισταὶ καὶ δορυφόροι λ' ὑπῆρχον (a fragment of Arrian's *Parthica*?). The use in Roman contexts is extremely rare (Mason [above, n.135] does not even list the word), and the appearance of the term in Augustus' account of the attack on Metulum is very striking.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Aelian *Praef.* 3-4.

settled the affairs of the Caucasian kingdoms, now once again quiescent vassals of Rome. It was a major success, and, puny though it may have been in comparison with Alexander's conquests, it would be churlish to criticize his pride in it.

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A FOURTH-CENTURY LATIN SOLDIER'S EPITAPH AT NAKOLEA

THOMAS DREW-BEAR

AMONG the inscriptions conserved in the *tekke* of Seyitgazi¹ on the site of the city of Nakolea in northern Phrygia is a roughly rectangular block (height 0.476 m., width 1.28 m., thickness 0.23 m., letter height ca. 0.03 m.) said to have been found in 1970 at a depth of three meters while excavating foundations for the Orta Okul.² Because of the poor quality of the stone the mason was careful to cut his letters deeply, which preserved them except for a section in the middle of the inscription to the left of center where wear has rendered the reading difficult. It has proved possible however to read the following text:

In perpetuo sequolo securitatis post omnia:
Fl. Aemiliano duc(enario) ē numerum Io. Corn. sen. vixit
an· XLVII militavit stupendia XXVII natus in Da-
4 cia civit[a]te Fla. Singedonum. Donicum vixit
delequit qu[o]s [o]p̄ortet amicus nec inimico[s] cre-
avit, cui vi[d]u[us in] sepulchrum iacet dulci-
tudine et luce. Et tu, viator, iter qui carper-
8 is tuum, resista et relege bonis memoriae

¹ For this former dervish monastery and a collection of the inscriptions found at Nakolea before 1937 see C. W. M. Cox and A. Cameron, *MAMA V* (on the *tekke*, p. xxvi and pl. 8–9). It is a pleasure to thank the General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums, the Turkish Foreign Ministry, and the Conservator of the Seyitgazi Tekke, Bay Mehmet Mutlu, for their respective authorizations and aid. I shall publish the remaining inscriptions in the *tekke* together with those which I recorded in a detailed survey of the district of Nakolea, undertaken in the company of Bay Mehmet Mutlu, as a supplement to the quasi-corpus in *MAMA V*. This article was written during my tenure of a fellowship awarded by the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung, for which I here express my gratitude. It is likewise a pleasure to thank for their advice Professors Bloch, Bowersock, Gilliam, and Pflaum.

² Cf. the epitaph of a *decanus num(eri) scut(ariorum)* which was inscribed on a rectangular block at Prusias ad Hypium published by F. K. Dörner, "Bericht über eine Reise in Bithynien" *Denkschr. der öst. Akad.* 75.1 (1952) 22: "Der Stein war anscheinend für sich gearbeitet und gehörte nicht zur Vorderseite eines Sarkophages"; the epitaph of a *protector de provincia Dacia* at Nicomedia published by S. Şahin, *Neufunde von antiken Inschriften in Nikomedeia (İzmit) und in der Umgebung der Stadt* (1974) 52 was inscribed on a "Marmorplatte."

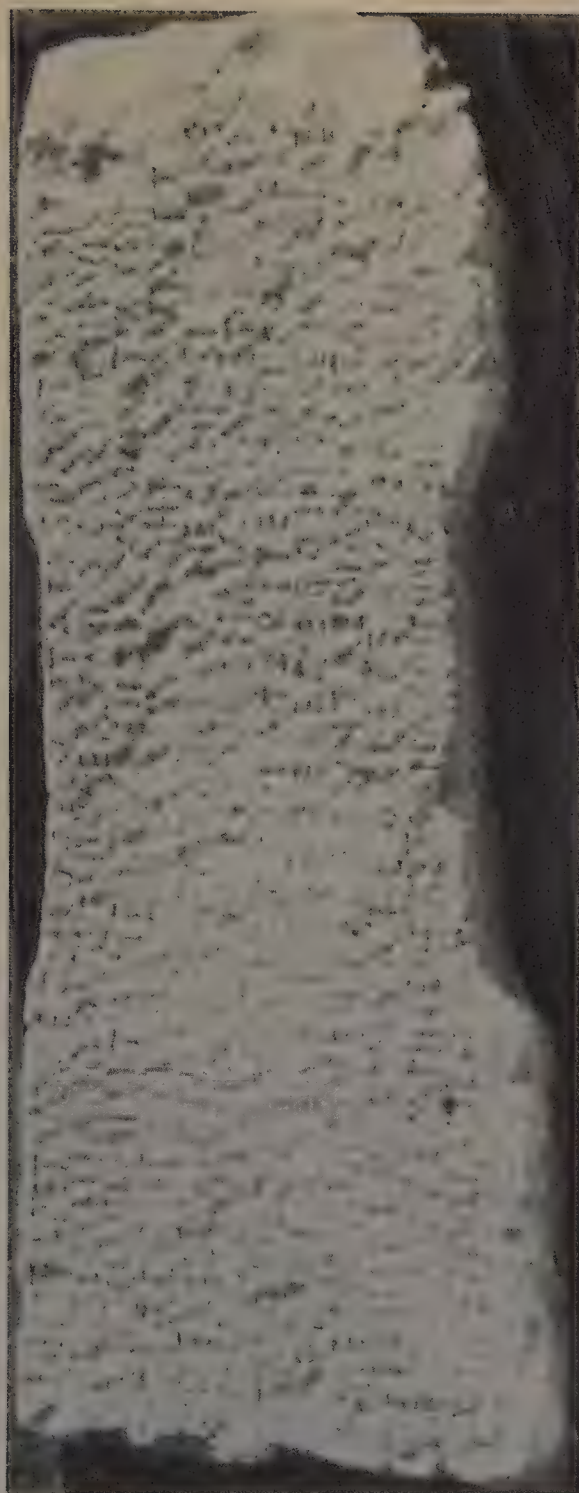
memoria quen fecerunt Aelianus et Aelius
 filii ipsius. Vivate valete superi felices,
 ego autem in sedes eternas. DDNN Constanti Aug.
 12 VIII· et Juliani c(on)s(ulatu).

The letters in the center of l. 1 are smaller than those to the left and right, which shows that the block was slightly indented at the top already before the text was engraved. The roughly symmetrical but larger indentation at the bottom appears to be likewise anterior to the text. In l. 2 the top of each dotted *e* is preserved; in l. 4 the vertical and central horizontal strokes of *f* and the bottom and left of *d* remain; in l. 5 it is uncertain whether the first letter of the second word was *c* (cf. *cui* for *qui* in l. 6) or *o*, not distinguished in this inscription from *q* (cf. *qui* in l. 7 and *quen* in l. 9), and later in the line the vertical stroke of *p*, the top portion of *o* and *a* and faint remains of the final *o* are visible; in l. 6 exists vertical damage to the stone in the left portion of the space occupied by *s*; in l. 7 remains the top of the dotted *e*, and *p* was made over a previously inscribed *t* which is still readily visible; in l. 8 the final *e* of *relege* was made over *b*. The photograph opposite will permit appreciation of the letter forms, including *l* with slanting bottom stroke, *m* with all strokes slanting, *n* with center stroke that does not reach the top and bottom of the verticals, *s* often more lightly engraved due to the difficulty afforded by its curves; in ll. 3 and 12 are engraved interpuncts after *an* and *VIII*. At the end of the text is a lightly-carved *X*, of which the significance is unclear (remains of an indication of the day and month?).

Certain elements of the interpretation of this text, discussed below in the commentary, will be clarified already in the translation:

In the everlasting age of security after all (mortal trials):
 For Fl(avius) Aemilianus *ducenarius* in the unit of the Io. Corn.
 sen., who lived
 47 years and served under arms 27 years and was born in Dacia
 4 in the city of Singidunum. As long as he lived
 he loved as a friend those whom it fitted nor did he make enemies,
 he who lies deprived in his tomb of sweetness
 and light. But you, traveller, who hasten on your way,
 8 pause and read as a memorial for good men
 the epitaph which Aelianus and Aelius,
 his sons, erected. Live happy and farewell, survivors,
 but I am in my eternal home. In the consulship of our lords
 Constantius Aug(ustus)
 12 for the eighth time and Julianus (A.D. 356)

After a transition from the dative in l. 2 the first section of the epitaph (as far as l. 7) is composed in the third person; there follows an appeal



addressed by the epitaph itself to the wayfarer, which is succeeded by the final section (ll. 10–11) in which the deceased speaks in the first person. After giving the facts of his career and birthplace,³ Aemilianus' epitaph devotes a sentence to his amiable character and his regret for the sweetness of life. The following appeal to the traveller to read the epitaph is characteristic of numerous pagan funerary inscriptions,⁴ as is the farewell combined with good wishes for those who have done so.⁵ The infrequent consular dating adds a valuable element to this text, which joins the small number of Latin inscriptions of this period found in Phrygia. Among the military epitaphs preserved from the fourth century this text is rare, perhaps unique, in the comprehensiveness and precision of the information it furnishes: not only the officer's name and rank are given but also his birthplace, age, length of service, military formation, and the precise year of his decease. The style of this relatively long document is characterized by a curious combination of a low level of literary culture on the one hand and repeated, strenuous attempts at elegance in expression on the other.⁶ This striving for elevation even led the author to include a verse (ll. 7–8, on which see below), another feature unusual for military epitaphs at this time. The epitaph is in Latin, as was natural for a soldier from the region where Aemilianus was born.

Although the formula *perpetuae securitati* is attested on numerous pagan and Christian epitaphs,⁷ there seems to be no exact parallel for

³ For the importance attributed in antiquity to the mention of the place of birth of the deceased see E. Galletier, *Etude sur la poésie funéraire romaine d'après les inscriptions* (1922) 100–101 with the examples there cited.

⁴ Cf. R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (1942, repr. 1962) who discusses the address to the wayfarer on 230–234 and concludes that appeals of this type express “an almost frantic reaching out for some connection with the living, for a short period when someone pays attention to the dead and they are rescued for a moment from nonentity.”

⁵ For this theme — often coupled with exhortations to enjoy the pleasure of life — cf. the examples collected by A. Brelich, *Aspetti della morte nelle iscrizioni sepolcrali dell' Impero romano* (Budapest 1937) 50–51, and in general Galletier (above, n.3) 38–41, who relates such salutations to the need felt by the deceased for the contact and sympathy of those still alive.

⁶ Cf. Galletier (above, n.3) 244: “Qu'il s'agisse de la langue ou du style, il est un double caractère qui se retrouvera toujours et qui ne laisse pas de surprendre par ses contradictions: la vulgarité, et il faut entendre par là tout ce qui dérive de l'origine populaire des épitaphes, incorrections et prosaïsme; d'autre part une certaine recherche, un goût du distingué et du compliqué, tout naturel en somme chez des gens de modeste culture.”

⁷ It will suffice to refer to the index of *CIL III Suppl.* p. 2602 and to that of H. Dessau, *Inscr. lat. sel.*; also common is the formula *aeternae securitati* (for

the phrase *in perpetuo seculo securitatis*⁸ which was perhaps influenced by the Christian expression *in seculo* meaning "in this life":⁹ awareness of this common Christian formula in a text which is certainly pagan would not be surprising in this period.¹⁰ For the idea expressed by the first line of this epitaph cf. F. Buecheler, *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* 514 (Africa Proconsularis):

... fraudatus luce quiesco
iam secura quies, nullum iam vitae periculum

among numerous other Latin and Greek epitaphs.¹¹

A. Mócsy¹² observes that from the second half of the fourth century all officers from the rank of *centenarius* upwards had a right to the honor of bearing the imperial *nomen gentile*. For the abbreviation cf., e.g., *IGLS* VI 2844 (Baalbek), epitaph of a *duc(enarius)*¹³ *prot(ector)* erected by his brother (*memoriam instituit*) who possessed the same rank abbreviated in the same fashion (this text also contains the injunction *vivite felices*). The replacement of the genitive of possession (*ducenarius numeri*) by a prepositional phrase¹⁴ and substitution of the accusative

discussion cf. Lattimore [above, n.4] 82-83). Cf. the Christian expression *pacata in saecula*, e.g., E. Diehl, *Inscr. lat. chr. vet.* 1714 (Buecheler, *CE* 748) at Vercellae.

⁸ Cf. Diehl 3493 (Aquae Calidae in Mauretania Caesariensis): *optima femina manet aeterno s[ae]culo fruitur perpetuam securitatem*.

⁹ For numerous examples see the index of Diehl III 401 section IIC; the development of *saeculum* in the sense of "this (sinful) world" is discussed by E. Löfstedt, *Syntactica* II (1933) 470-473.

¹⁰ For the spelling *qu* in place of *cu*, which appears twice in this phrase l. 1 and again in l. 5, cf. the numerous attestations in the index of Dessau I 11.2 p. 831.

¹¹ See Brelich (above, n.5) 60-65 for discussion and examples of this thought expressed in various fashions; recurring words in this context are *securus* and *perpetuus* and the corresponding nouns. Cf. for example Buecheler 1498 and Buecheler-Lommatzsch 2139 (Rome and Theveste) *evasi effugi, Spes et Fortuna valet*; Buecheler 409, 434, etc.

¹² "Der Name Flavius als Rangbezeichnung in der Spätantike" *Akten des IV. int. Kongresses für gr. und lat. Epigraphik* (Vienna 1964) 259-261. Cf. also J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 11 (1973) 49-50: "evidence for use of the name Flavius among soldiers and veterans in Egypt begins early in the second quarter of the fourth century."

¹³ For this rank cf. R. Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte von Gallienus bis zum Beginn der byz. Themenverfassung* 118-119, the attestations collected by A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* III 193-194, and the discussion by D. Hoffmann, *Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum* (1969/1970) 79.

¹⁴ On this phenomenon cf. Hofmann-Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik* (1965) 58-59, and V. Väänänen, *Introduction au latin vulgaire*² (1967) 121.

for the ablative¹⁵ are characteristic of vulgar Latin, as is the spelling *stupendia*,¹⁶ whereas on the other hand the use of *e* and not *ex* may perhaps be attributed to an effort at refinement.¹⁷ At the time of his death Aemilianus, not yet discharged, had already served longer than the required term.¹⁸ His unit will be discussed below.

The epitaph states that Aemilianus was born in Dacia in the city¹⁹ of Singidunum²⁰ (Belgrade), which bears the epithet (attested here for the first time) *Flavia*. Two cities in Italy received from Constantine the honor of this title,²¹ but the occasion and date on which Singidunum took this name remain uncertain.²² In this period "Dacia" appears at

¹⁵ Abundant attestations of *ex* followed by the accusative are listed in the index of Dessau III.2 p. 865 and in the *Thesaurus* s.v. *ex* col. 1127; cf. also E. Diehl, *De M finali epigraphica* (1899) 31–34 (for instances of *numerus* in place of the ablative see *AE* 1938 97 and D. Hoffmann, *Museum Helveticum* 20 [1963] 29 no. 7). This development formed part of the tendency of the accusative to replace the ablative in general after prepositions.

¹⁶ F. Sommer, *Handbuch der lat. Laut- und Formenlehre* 64, explains this common spelling as "unsinnige volksetymologische Anlehnung an *stupendus*."

¹⁷ Cf. the discussion by E. Löfstedt, *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae* (1911) 89–91, who points out that *ex* was strongly preferred to *e* in popular Latin, whereas "*e* hat in jeder Periode des historischen Lateins seine eigentliche Heimat in der Kunstsprache gehabt" (cf. also Hofmann-Szantyr [above, n.14] 264–265).

¹⁸ See D. van Berchem, *L'armée de Dioclétien et la réforme constantiniennne* (1952) 77–88, on the length of service in the different corps during the first part of the fourth century.

¹⁹ The designation *civitas* no longer expressed at this time any legal distinction. On the earlier status of Singidunum, first *municipium* and then *colonia*, see A. Mócsy, *Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior* (1970) 34 and *Pannonia and Upper Moesia* (1974) 223–225.

²⁰ For numerous different spellings of the name of this city see the passages collected by D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste* (1957) 444, and M. Fluss in *RE* s.v. Singidunum (1927) col. 234. On the history and population of the city see M. Mirković, *Rimski Gradovi na Dunavu u Gornjoj Meziji* (*Römische Städte an der Donau in Obermösien*) (Belgrade 1968) 37–49 (German summary on 163–164) and on its epigraphic monuments and relations with the eastern provinces of the Empire see A. Mócsy, *Gesellschaft und Romanisation* 126–134. [See now *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure I, Singidunum et le Nord-Ouest de la Province* by M. Mirković and S. Dušanić, Belgrade 1976.]

²¹ J. Assmann, *De coloniis oppidisque Romanis, quibus imperatoria nomina vel cognomina imposita sunt* (Diss. Jena 1905) 151 (Fanum Fortunae and Hispellum).

²² Perhaps the city received this name from the presence of the *legio IV Flavia*, stationed there at least since Hadrian: I owe this suggestion to H. Wolff, who compares in *Geogr. Ravennas* (ed. J. Schnetz, 1940) Isca Silurum (Caerleon), called Isca Augusta because of the presence there of the *legio II Augusta* (p. 106 l. 24) and Deva (Chester), called Deva Victris (sic) because

first to mean one of the provinces (Ripensis or Mediterranea) created in the former Moesia after abandonment in 271 of the Trajanic Dacia across the Danube. But Singidunum, which lay in the extreme west of Moesia Superior near the border of Pannonia, can never have been included within the territory of Dacia: Eutropius (9.15: cf. the life of Aurelian in *Hist. Aug.* 39.7) states that this emperor (*provinciam*) *in media Moesia collocavit appellavitque eam Daciam, quae nunc duas Moesias dividit*, and by the time of Constantine the former Moesia Superior had been further subdivided. The most western of the new provinces was Moesia Prima in which lay Singidunum. In fact the author of this epitaph meant by "Dacia" not the province but rather the diocese of that name, which was apparently created by Constantine before 327 and included the province of Moesia Prima.²³ In Asia Minor two other soldiers, both *protectores*, in their epitaphs at Cyzicus and Nicomedia give the province of Dacia as their origin.²⁴

After the pre- and postclassical form *donicum* the perfect tense is normal, but the verb *delequit* is a morphological variant, not attested elsewhere, for the classical *dilexit*. The change of vowels in the prefix is common,²⁵ however, and similar irregular perfects are attested for other verbs, for example *reguit* on an inscription of Aquileia.²⁶ The theme of

there was stationed here the *legio XX Victrix*. On the place name Tricensima and the *legio XXX Ulpia Victrix* see H. v. Petrikovits in *RE* (1958) s.v. *Vetera* col. 1832.

²³ On the creation of a new Dacia by Aurelian cf. M. Fluss in *RE* (1932) s.v. *Moesia* col. 2381 and H. Vetters, *Dacia Ripensis* (Schriften der Balkankommission, Antiquarische Abteilung XI.1, 1950) 5 ff, also discussing the border between Moesia Superior and Dacia; and on the later reorganization see A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia* 273–276, who suggests that Moesia Prima was probably constituted under Diocletian. For the diocese of Dacia see A. H. M. Jones (above, n.13) I 107, with n.66 in III 17, and III 386: I am indebted for this suggestion to G. W. Bowersock.

²⁴ Dessau 2783 and (most recently) W. D. Lebek, *ZPE* 20 (1976) 170–174 respectively. The epitaph of a *centenarius* at Heraclea Lyncestis (*CIL* III 14406 a; Buecheler-Lommatzsch 1878: cf. Hoffmann [above, n.13] II 484–485) shows Latin of a comparable level: *Pelege: hic iacio, qui vixi annis quinquaginta et militavi annis XXX et sum natus in provincia Dacia et militavi inter ecuites catafractarios Pictavensis succura Romani propositi. Aurelia Piactu coniux qui posuit titulo . . .*

²⁵ The *Thesaurus* cites both epigraphic and literary examples of *deligere* and states that the vowels in the prefix "in libris saepe confunduntur." On the passage from *e* to *i* in the syllable preceding that which bears the accent cf. Väänänen (above, n.14) 37.

²⁶ Dessau 2671 (Buecheler 1320): [*s*]eptimae qui cohortis centuriam reguit. F. Sommer (above, n.16) 572–573 lists various similar "Doppelbildungen" such

friendship is common on Greek and Latin, pagan and Christian epitaphs; for the sentiment (not devoid of a somewhat naive expression of self-interest) in the first portion of l. 5 cf. for example Buecheler 1568 (Rome) ll. 10-11: *me[os a]micos colui, patronos, bonos [omnes]* and 114 (Cirta) *colui poten[t]es nec dispexi pau[peres]*. Aemilianus' care to avoid giving offense is similar to that of a *classicus miles* buried at Aquileia (CIL V 938) who served for seventeen years *nullo odio sine offensa missus quoa[ue] honeste*. Naturally civilians had similar preoccupations: cf. e.g., Buecheler 83 (near Beneventum) *iniuriam feci nulli*²⁷ and, with a most emphatic formulation, CIL VI 17677 *in die mortis sue nunquam nemine lesit*.²⁸

The spelling *cui* for *qui* and accusative for ablative in the phrase [*in*] *sepulchrum iacet* are both well-attested phenomena.²⁹ Deprivation of light is a very frequent metaphor in sepulchral inscriptions for the loss of life,³⁰ for example Buecheler 398 (Rome):

quae caruit luce et tenebris se miscuit atris

The expression *dulcitus et lux* may be interpreted as a hendiadys for

as *allicui: allexi, elicui: elexi, pellicui: pellexi*; cf. also M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre* (1963) 334. Cf. at Budapest *vix. ann. XXII, lanxit d. XXVII*, explained by Dessau (8028) as *languit*.

²⁷ Likewise Buecheler 1321 (near Aternum) *nulli gravis extiteram dum vita manebat*; for the *topos* expressed by the last three words, comparable to *donecum vixit*, cf. R. P. Hoogma, *Der Einfluss Vergils auf die Carmina Latina Epigraphica* (1959) 275-276.

²⁸ On the other hand, another epitaph at Rome confesses (CIL VI 18659) *ego omnibus meis bene feci et qu[os contem]psi per errore, ignoscetis*. The theme appears also in Buecheler 477 (ager Tusculanus) *coaglavi semper amicos . . . semper sine lite recessi*.

²⁹ For examples of the former it will suffice to refer to the index of Dessau III.2 p. 810, notably 9122 *exercitus cui . . . sedit* (cf. n.24 above and, for the opposite error, l. 1 of the present text). For the latter cf. Diehl (above, n.15) 34-39 with the examples cited; on the confusion of the concepts of motion and rest expressed by *in*, with consequent mixing of the accusative and ablative cases, cf. the discussion by J. Svennung, *Untersuchungen zu Palladius und zur lat. Fach- und Volkssprache* (1935) 382-391.

³⁰ Cf. Buecheler 1084 (Venafrum) *nuc [mor]or in tenebris deserta luce [co]acta* and the text cited on p. 260 above, also Buecheler 496, 516, etc. For the theme cf. Lattimore (above, n.4) 161-164 and the texts quoted by Brelich (above, n. 5) 6-7; those who read Flemish may consult G. Sanders, *Bijdrage tot de Studie der Latijnse metrische Graftschriften van het heidense Rome: De Begrippen "Licht" en "Duisternis" en verwante Themata* (Brussels 1960) and *Licht en Duisternis in de Christelijke Graftschriften* (Brussels 1965).

dulcis lux, referring to the sweetness of life in general;³¹ cf. Buecheler 80 (Ostia):

nondum repletam vite dulci lumine

The following words of this epitaph form an iambic senarius, distributed between lines 7 and 8:

et tu, viator, iter qui carperis tuum

Noticeable is the attempt at elevated diction on the part of the author of this text, who borrowed this verse from a metrical epitaph, as well as on the part of the author of the verse himself: appeals to the *viator* are frequent on Latin tombstones and there are numerous parallels also for the second part of the verse,³² but a deponent form of *carpo* appears here for the first time (in a manifestation of hyperurbanism characteristic of late vulgar Latin)³³ created for metrical convenience like *reguit* in the inscription of Aquileia quoted above.

Equally unattested elsewhere is the verbal form *resista*, derived in part from influence exerted upon the imperative of *resistere*³⁴ by the

³¹ Cf. Buecheler 542 (Tarraco) *dulcem carui lucem, cum te amisi ego, coniunx*; 1125 (Pinna Vestina in Italy) *sit tibi lux dulcis et mihi terra levis*; 963; Catullus 68.93, Seneca *Agam.* 496, etc. The concept is frequent in Latin since Cicero (*Carm. frag.* 24.1) and Lucretius, notably 5.989 *dulcia . . . lumina vitae*: the *Thesaurus* cites Arnobius *Disp.* 7.42 *dulcedinem luminis* opp. *acerbitatem mortis*. Such use of hendiadys is a common stylistic feature of this period (notably in Ammianus).

³² Cf. n.4 (citation of examples is superfluous here); the *Thesaurus* s.v. *carpo* I D cites many occurrences in verse of the phrase *viam, iter*, etc. *carpere*, beginning with Vergil (numerous examples in Buecheler, e.g., 513, 528, 1451, 1592, etc.). For senarii in epitaphs that begin with *Et tu . . .* cf. Buecheler 131, 195 etc.

³³ Cf. Hofmann-Szantyr (above, n.14) 292–293 on the formation of new deponents beside existing active forms under literary influence in this period, and the bibliography, examples and commentary of Löfstedt (above, n.17) 215 and E. Tidner, *Sprachlicher Kommentar zur lat. Didascalia Apostolorum* (1938) 187–188. P. Flobert, *Les verbes déponents latins des Origines à Charlemagne* (1975), registers only a single example of a deponent form of this verb (p. 249), in an author of the Merovingian period: *contigit ei ut iter solus carperetur* “confusion avec le tour passif.”

³⁴ This form occurs frequently in this context, paired with the imperative of *lego*: e.g., *CIL* III 6155 (Tomi) *viator resiste et lege*; Buecheler 73 (near Beneventum) *hospes resiste et quae sum in monumento lege*, 1603 (Mauretania Caesar-iensis) *resiste viator atque lege*; Buecheler-Lommatzsch 1950 (near Salona) *resiste paulum et lege*, Buecheler 1533, 1545, etc.; the phrase *hospes resiste* is a common beginning of epitaphs.

imperative of *restare*,³⁵ and in part from influence exerted upon the imperative by the subjunctive *resistas*;³⁶ for the confusion of these two moods cf. the verbal pair *vivate valet* in l. 10 of this text, where the subjunctive *vivatis* was transformed under the influence of the following imperative.³⁷ The verb *relegere* occurs sporadically in such injunctions to the traveller, usually for special reasons³⁸ such as metrical convenience as in this epigram near Milan (Buecheler 1449):

disces, dum relegas hos modo versiculos

but the prefix expected here is rather *per-* for the sense intended must be that the voyager is asked to read the epitaph through to its end, not that he is requested to read it a second time. Attestations of the pair of verbs *resiste et perlege* are numerous, e.g., Dessau 7734 (Buecheler 118, near Minturnae):³⁹

hospes resiste et nisi molestust perlege

The imperative *relege* takes as its object *memoria(m)*⁴⁰ at the beginning

³⁵ This form occurs for instance in the epitaphs of soldiers from Dacia cited in n.24, at Cyzicus (*resta viator et lege*) and Heraclea Lyncestis (*resta viator et lege titulo nestro: dunc leges et perausas*, i.e., *repausas*: for this difficulty with the prefix cf. *pelege* earlier in the same text); cf. *CIL* III 12396 (Glava in Moesia Inferior) *tu viator qui transis r(e)st(a), leg(e) titulum obiter le(ge) et rep(one)*: as expansion of the final abbreviation I propose rather *rep(ausa)*; Buecheler 52 (Rome) *asta ac pellege*, 1319, etc.

³⁶ For this verb in the subjunctive in this context cf. for example Dessau 1932 (Buecheler 53, at Rome) *rogat ut resistas, hospes, te hic tacitus lapis*.

³⁷ In an epitaph at Aequinoctium near Vienna (*CIL* III 15195; Buecheler-Lommatzsch 1902) appears the line *ressita viator et lege crudele(m) cas(um)*. Kubitschek in the *ed. princ.* interpreted this as a trochaic verse, assuming a mason's error for *restita*, but Bormann (cited in *CIL*) preferred to regard it as an iambic senarius with an error for *resta*. Not less likely than this assumption that two letters were inserted by error is the possibility that the position of these letters was inverted, which would yield *resista* as in the inscription at Nakolea.

³⁸ In the hendecasyllables Buecheler 1518 (Rome) meter determined the choice of the prefix: *custos. me relegens pius viator*. For the unmetrical verse *tu qui via Flaminia transis, resta ac relege* (suspected as a forgery by Bormann, *CIL* XI 654*) Buecheler (1152) proposed an iambic model: *tu qui Flaminia transis resta ac perlege*. The choice of prefix in the present text was doubtless influenced by the analogy of the preceding verb.

³⁹ Cf. also Buecheler 61 (Picenum) *re[s]iste et perlege*, 54, 980, 1205, etc.; and Dörner (above, n.2) 22 *stas et repausas perlege*.

⁴⁰ For numerous examples of *fecit (posuit) memoria* and similar phrases in which final *m* of the accusative is omitted in this word, see Diehl (above, n.15) 243–244, and for an instance at Dorylaeum near Nakolea see *CIL* III 14190; cf. Väänänen (above, n.14) 69–70.

of l. 9: here this word has the sense of "epitaph,"⁴¹ whereas at the end of the preceding line the author of this text, in another effort at refinement and elegance, uses the same word in a different meaning: the tomb was erected "for remembrance" on the part of good men. Both words at the end of line 8 may thus be in the dative, a personal "dativus commodi" followed (as is normal in this usage) by an abstract noun as "dativus finalis."⁴² Alternatively *memoriae* could be interpreted as a "genetivus causae."⁴³ Numerous funerary inscriptions attest the importance attached to the survival of the memory, or even of the name, of the deceased — which could itself be considered a type of immortality;⁴⁴ thus an epitaph at Nice (*CIL* V 7956) explains *ut nomen eius aeterna lectione celebraretur hoc monimentum instituit*. The masculine *qui* assumes the functions also of the feminine relative pronoun in inscriptions well before the fourth century,⁴⁵ and the replacement of *m* by *n* at the end of the word represents actual pronunciation.⁴⁶

The final wish addressed by Aemilianus to the readers of his epitaph finds parallels for example in two inscriptions at Rome, *CIL* VI 24197: *valete et vivite felices* and Buecheler 447:

vivite felices superi quorum fortuna beatast

This theme, with its contrast between the *superi* and the deceased, is found on numerous epitaphs and has its origin in a verse of the *Aeneid*.⁴⁷ The author of this epitaph, written when Christianity was the state religion of the Roman Empire, was certainly a pagan in view of the

⁴¹ As often; cf. e.g., Dessau 8187 (Rome) *filio piissimo memoriam scripsit*.

⁴² Cf. Hofmann-Szantyr (above, n.14) 98–99 on these two datives and their combination ("der Dat. finalis ist volkstümlich und sonderssprachlich: Militär-, Bauern-, Fachsprache . . ."); the second dative in this text may be influenced by the frequent occurrence of *memoriae* at the beginning of epitaphs or by the common phrase *memoriae causa* or the Christian expression *bonae memoriae*.

⁴³ On this type of genitive see E. Löfstedt, *Eranos* 9 (1909) 82–91, who cites, e.g., *Rhet. ad Her.* 4.38.50 *utrum igitur avaritiae an egestatis accessit ad maleficium?*, *CIL* X 9 (Regium Iulium) *Limen conservo pietatis fecit*, etc.

⁴⁴ Cf. e.g., *CIL* XIII 2077 = Allmer and Dissard, *Inscr. du Musée de Lyon* III (1890) 182 no. 268 *licet sors iniqua fatorum vitam abstulerit, memoria tamen laudis eius et gloriae, manente hoc titulo, durabit aeterna*; *CIL* V 6087; Brelich (above, n.5) 71–72.

⁴⁵ Cf. Löfstedt (above, n.17) 131–133; Väänänen (above, n.14) 133 and *Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes* (1937) 193 for examples and discussion.

⁴⁶ For examples see the index of Dessau III.2 p. 827 and for discussion see Väänänen, *Introduction* 69 (cf. *Le latin vulgaire* 115).

⁴⁷ Cf. Lattimore (above, n.4) 237 and Hoogma (above, n.27) 253 who has collected the epigrams in Buecheler influenced by *Aeneid* 3.493 *vivite felices, quibus est fortuna peracta*.

attitudes revealed by the expressions *viduus in sepulchrum iacet dulcitudine et luce* and *vivate valete superi felices* (note *superi* used to designate those still living); this is implied also by the address to the wayfarer: cf. n.4.

In the following phrase *sedes eternas* refers not to Hades or the underworld in general but rather to the tomb itself:⁴⁸ the metaphor is common in both pagan and Christian epitaphs,⁴⁹ and since this text has twice (ll. 2 and 6) accusative for ablative after a preposition it is best to interpret this as a third instance of the same phenomenon and supply as verb not *eo* but *sum*.⁵⁰ The fact that the names of the consuls stand in the genitive instead of the customary ablative enables us to expand the final abbreviation *CS*: the author of this text had in mind after the two names the word *consulatu*.⁵¹

Information of major importance is provided by the letters *IOCORNSEN* in l. 2. These letters are deeply cut and (except for the penultimate) readily legible. The expansion indicated for the second portion is clearly *numerus . . . Corn(utorum) Sen(iorum)*. The Cornuti are known by the *Notitia Dignitatum* to have been divided in the West into two units, Cornuti seniores (*ND Oc.* 5.158 and 7.9: attested at Rome by *CIL VI* 32963)⁵² and Cornuti iuniores (*ND Oc.* 5.169 and 7.18), registered among the elite of the infantry regiments, the *auxilia palatina*; whereas in the East Cornuti are mentioned only once, without epithet (*ND Or.* 6.50; on the *Porta Aurea* at Constantinople are attested Cornuti

⁴⁸ As it does for instance in Dessau 8236 (Puteoli) *pater sedem aeternam karissimi filii dis manibus consecravit*, Buecheler 622, etc. H. Krummrey, *Klio* 48 (1967) 117, cites examples of this sense from Buecheler and concludes that "Das Wort *sedes* bezeichnet in den heidnischen Grabschriften vorwiegend die Beisetzungsstätte"; naturally the distinction need not always have been sharply made.

⁴⁹ It will suffice to refer to the *Thesaurus* s.v. *aeternus* III cols. 1145-1146; for the theme of the grave as an eternal home cf. Galletier (above, n.3) 27-35 and Lattimore (above, n.4) 165-167 with the texts cited. For *domus aeterna* on Christian epitaphs see H. Nordberg in H. Zilliacus et al., *Syll. ins. Chr. vet. Musei Vaticani* (1963) 223-229.

⁵⁰ For parallel constructions cf., e.g., Buecheler 1822 *iacet in tenebras*, *CIL VI* 9792 *si est aliquit in infernas partes*.

⁵¹ For examples of dating formulas approximately contemporary with the present text which utilize this word cf. Dessau III.1 pp. 339-340 and Diehl 2968 adn.; this is preferable to the expansion *C(ae)s.* (cf. e.g., Dessau 5846) which is itself rare and would not account for the genitive. Although this text contains no other ligatures, it seems possible that a small *o* may have been inscribed in the upper part of *c*.

⁵² Cf. on this text Hoffmann (above, n.13) II 137 n.132.

iuniores).⁵³ Since Cornuti are known to have taken part in the murder of the usurper Silvanus at Cologne in 355 (Ammianus 15.5.30) and to have fought under the orders of Julian at the battle of Strasbourg in 357 (Ammianus 16.12.43 and 63: cf. for an earlier engagement 16.11.9), the present document dated in 356 renders it necessary to conclude that this formation was divided between East and West at the time of the death of Flavius Aemilianus.⁵⁴

Furthermore, the present text informs us also that the Cornuti serving in the East in 356 bore the title Cornuti seniores. Two recent studies of the Late Roman army placed in the year 364 the division of many of its elite units into the classes of seniores and iuniores, and concluded that the former were assigned to the West under the senior emperor Valentinian whereas the iuniores served in the East under his younger brother Valens.⁵⁵ Indeed Ammianus' statement (26.5.3) that in 364 *et militares partiti sunt numeri*, combined with the fact that his only reference by title to divided units occurs in his description (26.6.12) of the proclamation of the usurper Procopius in the following year in which he mentions *Tungricanosque iuniores*,⁵⁶ rendered this theory plausible. Thus also the Cornuti were naturally considered to be among the units split into seniores and iuniores in 364.⁵⁷ But the present document now proves that Cornuti seniores existed already in 356, and there seems to be no reason to suppose that what is true of the Cornuti is not true also of the other units: if this formation was divided before 356, why must all the others have been divided only in 364? Of course the present text provides only

⁵³ *ILS* 9216 a: on this text cf. Hoffmann 55, 59, etc. On Cornuti in the East cf. Hoffmann 13. A. Alföldi, "Cornuti," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 13 (1959) 174 and n.28, cites *Not. dig. Or.* 6.50 twice as attesting both infantry Cornuti and "Equites Cornuti": for the latter he is mistaken, since the unit is listed loc. cit. among the *auxilia palatina*.

⁵⁴ According to Hoffmann on pages 205–206, among the units delivered by Julian to Constantius II in the two years between the battle of Strasbourg (357) and Julian's proclamation as Augustus (360) were the Cornuti and perhaps the Equites Cornuti; the present text shows that Cornuti were already serving under Constantius II well before this time.

⁵⁵ R. Tomlin, "Seniores–Iuniores in the Late-Roman Field Army" *AJPh* 93 (1972) 261, 264; likewise Hoffmann, notably 117–130. On p. 130 Hoffmann declared that "Sichere Belege für die Aufspaltung einer Truppe [into seniores and iuniores] noch vor 364 lassen sich überhaupt nicht finden."

⁵⁶ Cf. the discussion by Hoffmann, p. 120.

⁵⁷ Thus Hoffmann, notably page 324; influenced by his general theory, he states here with conviction that the Cornuti seniores "eh und je im Westen geweilt haben."

a *terminus ante quem* for the division,⁵⁸ but this information is nonetheless of great importance since it seems to furnish a strong reason for abandoning what has become the *communis opinio*.

This attestation of Cornuti seniores in the East is very significant also from another point of view. It is generally held that at the time of the division of part of the army into seniores and iuniores the former units were assigned to the West under the senior emperor Valentinian, whereas the iuniores served in the East under his younger brother Valens.⁵⁹ Here however we have seniores attested in the East in 356. The language of this inscription provides no reason to believe that Flavius Aemilianus who lived to the age of forty-seven and spent twenty-seven years under arms, had been discharged from the army before his death; and there are therefore no grounds for supposing that his unit was not stationed in the region of Nakolea⁶⁰ in 356. It is clear that also this tenet of the *communis opinio* must be reconsidered.

In fact there already exists other epigraphic evidence that cannot be reconciled with the prevailing view, for an inscription of Philippi published by P. Lemerle in *BCH* 62 (1938) 476 (*AE* 1939 45) reads as follows:

D.M.	tum qui vixsit
Viator (f)ilius	annos quattor
Liciniani pro-	meses nove hic est
tectori<s> de sco-	depositus
5 la seniore pedi-	10 χαῖρε παρ[οδίτα]

⁵⁸ Speculation concerning the date and circumstances of the separation of these units into seniores and iuniores does not seem useful; possible occasions would be for example the division of the empire between Constantine and Licinius in 317, or between the sons of Constantine in 338.

⁵⁹ Thus Tomlin (above, n.55) 259-260: "Crack regiments like the *Ioviani* are divided with *seniores* in the west, *iuniores* in the east; the reverse is almost unknown. This surely reflects the division of the Empire between Valentinian, the senior Augustus of the west, and his junior colleague in the east." Similar opinions are expressed by Hoffmann in his pages 117-130 and by E. Demougeot, "La *Notitia dignitatum* et l'histoire de l'Empire d'Occident au début du V^e siècle," *Latomus* 34 (1975) 1094: "Cette séparation remontait à 364, c'est-à-dire au partage effectué par Valentinien I^{er} qui avait dédoublé les unités *comitatenses* en *seniores* et *iuniores*, s'attribuant les *seniores* et affectant les *iuniores* à son frère Valens."

⁶⁰ For evidence of other troops stationed in this area cf. Th. Drew-Bear, *Glotta* 50 (1972) 220, on the epitaph of the son of a σενάτωρ at nearby Dorylaion and Th. Drew-Bear and W. Eck, *Chiron* 6 (1976) 305-307 no. 12, for the epitaph of a κόμης σχολῆς γεντιλίων ἰωνόρων at the same city.

An element which enables us to assign an approximate date to this text is the name of the *protector*, Licinianus, which may be related to that of the emperor Valerius Licinianus Licinius. It is natural to assume that this officer adopted the Roman name Licinianus upon joining the army (if he was of barbarian ancestry), or was given the name at birth, before the defeat and deposition of the emperor of that name by Constantine I in 324. Furthermore it is interesting to note that the city of Philippi formed part of the province of Macedonia (the line of demarcation between Macedonia and Thrace followed the Rhodope mountains leading northwest from a point on the coast opposite Thasos), then in the diocese of Moesia. Licinius controlled this diocese only from the death of Galerius in 311 until the settlement after his first war with Constantine in 316, when he surrendered Moesia and Pannonia (he held the neighboring diocese of Thrace from 311 until 324). Without entering into detailed hypotheses it seems probable that the date of this text with its *scola senior* must be earlier than 364. Philippi was in the eastern half of the empire under Diocletian, Galerius, and Licinius until 316; if therefore this text was engraved before that year we would have here another instance of seniores in the East.

In order to defend his theories Hoffmann on pages 129-130 declares that "Hier liegt mit Sicherheit eine Unterteilung nach Altersklassen vor"; but this is evidently a case of special pleading, since on pages 127-128 he himself rejects in general the view⁶¹ that the designations seniores and iuniores were related to the age of the troops concerned. Hoffmann's explanation of this text remains unconvincing, and it seems hardly likely that this elite troop would have been divided into two units, one composed of elderly veterans and the other of youthful recruits.

What then was the origin of the designations seniores and iuniores? The least complicated explanation is simply that at the moment when the formations were divided, the new unit (created as a duplicate of the already existing unit of the same name) received the classification iunior vis-à-vis the older unit, which in fact was senior since it had been in existence for a longer period.

Here it is necessary to observe a difference of opinion, of major significance, concerning the meaning of this division: as we have seen, Hoffmann and Tomlin both agree that this division took place in 364

⁶¹ This view was held by Carcopino (Tomlin [above, n.55] 261 n.28) and Jullian (Hoffmann [above, n.13] II 44 n.56) but rejected also by Tomlin 261-262. Hoffmann himself states on p. 216 that "das übliche Verfahren bei Truppenneuschöpfungen" was "Neuaushebungen nebst der Entlehnung des Kaders aus anderen Legionen" (in his discussion on pp. 129-130 Hoffmann mistakenly attributes the inscription at Philippi to Sicyon).

and that the *seniores* and *iuniores* were so designated because they were meant to serve under the senior and junior emperor respectively (both of which points must now be reconsidered); but these two scholars disagree in their interpretation of what these units in fact represented. Tomlin (above, n.55) 264 suggested that "Valentinian divided regiments into two cadres, not necessarily equal in numbers, age, or experience, which were then filled out with recruits who would mature more quickly side by side with old soldiers than if drafted into new regiments", whereas Hoffmann on page 128 holds the view that "die mögliche Deutung, dass die *seniores* gleichsam den primären, die *iuniores* den sekundären Bestand einer Truppe gebildet hätten, dass also in den *seniores* vorwiegend der eigentliche alte Kern vertreten gewesen wäre, wogegen die *iuniores* als eine Art Abspaltungseinheit nur vielleicht das Kader erhalten hätten, vermag nicht zu befriedigen. Dies würde nämlich darauf hinauslaufen, dass beispielsweise ein paar wenige germanische Unteroffiziere und Soldaten im fernen Orient eine neue Truppe aus Leuten aufzubauen gehabt hätten, mit deren Mentalität sie überhaupt nicht vertraut und gegenüber denen sie von Anfang an in der Minderheit gewesen wären."

The theory that about fifty of the best fighting units of the Empire were simply split in two, so that each emperor could dispose henceforth of one half of each unit so treated, seems unlikely because more complicated than necessary: such a division, with its effects upon organization and morale, would surely have gravely impaired the quality of the empire's elite troops — if it was desired to share this elite equally and fairly between East and West, why would it not have been possible simply to share the existing formations? Such a procedure would fit excellently Ammianus' words *et militares partiti sunt numeri*. As for Hoffmann, surely he is indulging here in rhetorical exaggeration. In fact there is no reason to believe that at the time the formations were divided, whenever that may have been, recruiting could not have been carried out in the same regions as those from which the troops of the respective units were originally drawn; after all, the fact that the existence of many of these elite units is attested over a period of a century or more presupposes the possibility of regular recruitment from the troops' home areas or at least from other barbarian regions. Likewise there is no reason why recruits could not have been procured from the West at the moment of the division even for those units which were to be sent east. Furthermore, it is — and was — normal military practice to increase the size of an army by filling out with recruits a skeleton unit composed of experienced troops.⁶² In fact one has the impression that Hoffmann

⁶² Cf. the examples cited by Tomlin (above, n.55) 264.

adopted his theory not because of general military considerations but because he desired to defend a different explanation of the terms *seniores* and *iuniores*: once we have seen that there exists epigraphic evidence which does not conform to Hoffmann's explanation, it is logical to accept the simpler and inherently more plausible opposing view. Apparently units designated *seniores* are generally found in the West and those designated *iuniores* in the East.⁶³ We have seen that this is not universally true, but even if this distribution holds good in the majority of cases it does not invalidate the explanation of the meaning of these terms which is advanced here; for after the units had been split and thus increased in number it is quite possible that those sent east were generally the new formations — without reference to the age of the emperors concerned.

The first two letters of the name of this unit form an abbreviation of which the simplest expansion is *Io(vii)* or *Io(viani)*.⁶⁴ Palatine troops with these names are known: *Iovii* and *Ioviani* both formed part of Julian's army in his Persian expedition. Zosimus states expressly (3.30.2) that the latter unit was created by Diocletian, and it is logical to conclude that this emperor gave the name of his tutelary divinity also to the *Cornuti*.⁶⁵ It is not astonishing that the rare epigraphical attestations of this unit do not contain this dynastic epithet, and the *Notitia Dignitatum* registers merely the names of the units without including titles of this type. The *Cornuti* distinguished themselves in Constantine's victory over Maxentius in 312, and A. Alföldi⁶⁶ holds the view that this type of barbarian Teutonic infantry was created by Constantine especially for this conflict; but R. Grosse⁶⁷ attributed to Maximian the

⁶³ Note however that the evidence for this observation is largely deduced from the *Notitia Dignitatum*, for as E. Demougeot remarks (above, n.59) 1094 n.51, there survive in fact only few inscriptions mentioning the designations *seniores* and *iuniores*.

⁶⁴ It is true that in this text *o* may readily be interpreted as *q* (cf. the description of the letter-forms above) and D. Hoffmann suggests that the mason cut *i* in error for *e*: *Equites Cornuti seniores* are attested among the *vexillationes palatinae* in the West (*ND Oc.* 6.48 and 7.162?; also *Equites Cornuti iuniores*: 6.49 and 7.168?) and at this period the term *numerus* could be used also to designate a unit of this type (cf. Th. Drew-Bear and W. Eck, *Chiron* 6 [1976] 310 n.71; *CIL* XIII 1848 at Lyons; D. Hoffmann, *Mus. Hel.* 20 [1963] 28 no. 4; 29 nos. 5, 7, etc.) but since it is not inherently impossible that the *Cornuti* existed already under Diocletian, and that a portion of this formation was assigned early in its existence to the army of Gaul, it seems preferable to explain the text as it stands.

⁶⁵ On the creation of the *Ioviani* see Hoffmann 215–218 and on the tutelary deity of Diocletian see the literature cited by him in II 81 n.44.

⁶⁶ Above n.53, pp. 172–179.

⁶⁷ Above n.13, p. 42.

creation of many of the auxilia of this type which appear in the *Notitia*, as indeed seems reasonable.⁶⁸ Since the Cornuti bore a title awarded by Diocletian and were thus created at his command, it seems natural to deduce that a portion of this formation continued to serve in the East after his reign, whereas another portion served in the West at least since Constantine.

But here again we encounter an opposing theory of D. Hoffmann, who writes (p. 170) "Damit kann schwerlich bezweifelt werden, dass das neue Auxilium . . . in seinen Anfängen unter Maximian, Constantius I. und Constantin eine spezifisch weströmische Truppenform war, die es bei Diocletian und Galerius sowie deren unmittelbaren Nachfolgern in Illyricum und im Orient noch gar nicht gegeben hat." On the contrary, it seems hardly likely that Maximian, who utilized with such success this new type of unit in his campaigns in Gaul, would have reserved these auxilia exclusively for himself and refused them to his respected senior emperor (cf. the opinion of Mommsen quoted by Grosse on p. 42: "Mit der also geschaffenen Infanterie hat Maximian nicht bloss seine Schlachten geschlagen, sondern auch dem Herrn und Meister im Osten die Kernscharen geliefert, die am Nil und am Euphrat für ihn siegten").

In fact a parallel for this creation of a barbarian auxilium in the name of Diocletian is furnished precisely by the Iovii, concerning whom Hoffmann himself declares (p. 156) that "die Iovii können — wie die Legion der Ioviani — ihren Namen nur vom Schutzgott Diocletians, Iupiter, haben, und entsprechend mag den Victores der gängige Beiname von Maximians Schutzgottheit Hercules, Victor, zugrunde liegen. Auch sonst haben wir keinerlei Anlass, das Truppenpaar etwa erst in die Zeit Constantins zu datieren." The title attested for the Cornuti on the present inscription may thus be taken as proving that this unit did indeed exist under the first tetrarchy, and that it was created, like the Iovii, in order to serve under Diocletian.

It is apparent that the information preserved in this text entails consequences which necessarily destroy a group of hypotheses recently advanced and defended at length, some of which have become part of the *communis opinio*.⁶⁹ Thus it is no longer necessary to accept the dates which Hoffmann believed he could impose upon the career of Fl.

⁶⁸ Cf. the remarks of Hoffmann, pp. 132, 140, 158.

⁶⁹ For example the title *Passio sanctorum Bonosi et Maximiliani militum de numero Herculanorum seniorum sub Iuliano imperatore* can no longer be used as a decisive argument against the authenticity of this account, as it is by Hoffmann on pages 318–319: "Die Unechtheit des Zeugnisses geht aber schon daraus hervor, dass die im Titel genannten Herculiani seniores erst im Sommer 364 entstanden sind."

Memorius, attested by his detailed epitaph found at Arles:⁷⁰ *Bene pausanti in pace Fl. Memorio v(iro) p(erfectissimo) qui milit(avit) int(er) Iovianos annos XXVIII, pro(tector) dom(esticus) an(nos) VI, prae(positus) Lanciaris sen[ioribus an(nos) . . . , t]rib(unus) an(nos) III, comes ripe an(num) I, com(es) Mauret(aniae) Ting(itanae) an(nos) IIII, vix(it) an(nos) LXXV, Praesidia con[iunx] marito dulcissimo*. Hoffmann (p. 313) assumed that Memorius could not have taken command of the Lanciarii seniores before 364, but this creates difficulties with regard to his title *vir perfectissimus*, since even though Hoffmann (II 134 n.55) assigned a minimum length of two years to Memorius' service as *prae(positus)*, added to his four years in the two succeeding offices this period obliges one to put the beginning of Memorius' service as comes Mauretaniae Tingitanae in 370 — at which time comites (and often even duces) were honored as clarissimi. "Damit aber muss der blosse Perfectissimat bei Memorius als Comes Tingitaniae etwas überraschen und wie ein Anachronismus wirken" (Hoffmann 314–315). Proof of the existence of seniores already before 356 enables us to avoid this difficulty and return to the view held by O. Seeck:⁷¹ "Da der Mann noch bei seinem Tode den Titel *vir perfectissimus* führt, während er nach der Rangordnung Valentinians I. als Comes Mauretaniae schon *vir spectabilis* sein müsste, kann die Inschrift nicht weit über die Mitte des 4. Jhdts. herabreichen."

Clearly it is not possible in the commentary to the *editio princeps* of the present inscription to discuss further its implications for the history of the Roman army in the fourth century. What is needed at this point is surely not more theories, even constructed with great learning, but rather a corpus of all surviving military documents from this period on inscriptions and papyri. Only such a corpus assembling all the evidence now available outside the literary sources can provide a sound basis for reassessment of what we really know about the major problems concerning the Roman army which are raised by the study of this inscription from Nakolea.

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⁷⁰ *CIL* XII 673, Dessau 2788, Diehl 295: the text quoted here is that given by Hoffmann II 132 n.41.

⁷¹ *RE* 4 (1900) s.v. comites 80 (col. 670); cf. the entry by the same author s.v. comites 100 (col. 679). The date of the epitaph at Nakolea likewise provides reason for lowering the *terminus post quem* admissible for the death of the retired Christian *tribunus* at Milan (Dessau 2789, Diehl 441A) who had served for forty years *int(er) Iovianos sen(iores)*.

SEVENTEEN LETTERS OF
ULRICH VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF
TO EDUARD FRAENKEL

WILLIAM MUSGRAVE CALDER III

In Memoriam Eduard Fraenkel

INTRODUCTION

THE most devoted pupil of Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1848-1931), Eduard Fraenkel (1888-1970), wrote a remarkable description of his teacher's entrance into classical scholarship.¹

Once upon a time there were many hardworking scholars who used to sit in a big room. On one side of it was a big heavy window; in the middle of the room stood a big heavy table. For many years the window had never been opened. On the table lay many stacked, neatly separated piles of filing cards. On the top of each lay a carefully written scrap of paper that indicated in each case what was underneath: textual criticism, grammar, sacred antiquities, political antiquities, and so on. One day a handsome young man stormed into the room, tall and slender, with blond hair, shining eyes, and stubborn mouth. Without looking right or left, he ran up to the window and with one push threw it open. A fresh strong blast of wind blew into the room and all the beautifully arranged piles of file cards fell to pieces. The scholars cried aloud in pain and indignation. Then some tried to cope with the scattered filecards; others pushed at the window; but, as much as they exerted themselves, the window would never really shut again.

Fraenkel's English students have written just and useful notices of his life.² Another has compiled a comprehensive bibliography.³ There is no

¹ See Friedrich Leo, *Ausgewählte Kleine Schriften* I, ed. Eduard Fraenkel, 2 vols. (Rome 1960) xviii, cited in full at *CR* 76 (1962) 240.

² I have found the following most useful: H. Lloyd-Jones, *Gnomon* 43 (1971) 634-640; G. Williams, "Eduard Fraenkel 1888-1970," *PBA* 56 (1972) 415-442; R. G. M. Nisbet, *London Times*, February 6, 1970, 12; S. Timpanaro, "Ricordo di Eduard Fraenkel," *A&R* n.s. 15 (1970) 89-103. Other notices may be found at *Gnomon* 43 (1971) 634 n.1. I am grateful to H. Lloyd-Jones and Gordon Williams for sending me copies of their obituaries of Fraenkel.

³ Nicholas Horsfall, "Eduard Fraenkel: A Bibliography," *JRS* 66 (1976) 200-205. I am grateful to Dr. Horsfall for use of the manuscript of his article.

need for one who never knew him to repeat what is easily available elsewhere. I shall merely recall in this context his lifelong loyalty to Wilamowitz.

Professor Lloyd-Jones records:⁴ "But even as a schoolboy he had been fascinated by the famous evening public lectures at the Victoria-Lyzeum given by Wilamowitz; he heard the series which were afterwards made use of for 'Staat und Gesellschaft der Griechen' in the series 'Kultur der Gegenwart.'" ⁵ Although a first year lawstudent at Berlin, Fraenkel in 1906 summer semester spent "four hours a week in attending Wilamowitz' lectures on Thucydides."⁶ Before departing for a winter in Italy, the student dared approach Wilamowitz for advice. He never forgot the two hour audience nor the crusty advice given.⁷ Gordon Williams observes of this period:⁸ "His classical training began in earnest under Wilamowitz whose flair and genius captivated him; he was always capable of seeing Wilamowitz's errors, but when he spoke of him, it was with an admiration that was instantly perceptible in his eyes and voice and whole manner. He constantly quoted *obiter dicta* of Wilamowitz and vividly recalled times spent with him." By the time of his marriage (February 9, 1918, in Zehlendorf) to Ruth von Velsen, Fraenkel was a friend. Wilamowitz cabled good wishes to the bridal pair at their rural honeymoon retreat (Kurhaus Voigtslust bei Clausthal [Harz]). A country operator lost the message. Wilamowitz preserved an anguished letter from the newlyweds (February 16, 1918) requesting a copy of the greeting.⁹ At the death of Fraenkel's mother, Edith, geb.

⁴ *Gnomon* 43 (1971) 635. Wilamowitz describes such public lectures at *Erinnerungen 1848-1914*², (Leipzig 1929) 289 (henceforth: *Erinnerungen*²).

⁵ Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and B. Niese, "Staat und Gesellschaft der Griechen und Römer," *Die Kultur der Gegenwart* II.IV.1 (Berlin/Leipzig 1910, rev. 1923).

⁶ Lloyd-Jones (above, n.2). These must have been the lectures on Thucydides 4 held at Berlin in summer semester 1906: see F. Frhr. Hiller von Gaertringen and G. Klaffenbach, *Wilamowitz-Bibliographie 1868 bis 1929* (Berlin 1929) 79.

⁷ Lloyd-Jones (above, n.2) 635 n.1. The advice is presented as a direct quotation in English. At best it must be the translation of a summary of what Wilamowitz said. No source is given.

⁸ *PBA* 56 (1972) 417. Although this is the standard biography, fundamental facts are omitted: name and dates of his mother, the date of his marriage, where he is buried, etc. One often finds a carelessness when dealing with the history of classical scholarship that would never be tolerated when dealing with an ancient author. For a splendid example see *CP* 72 (1977) 53-54.

⁹ Göttingen Nachlaß no. 383 letter no. 8. I thank Dr. K. Haenl for permission to use this material. They thank him "für die grosse Freundlichkeit Ihres Glückwunsches zu unserer Hochzeit" and add "Daß Sie an diesem Tage an uns gedacht haben, ist uns beiden eine ganz besondere Freude."



Eduard Fraenkel Munich 1914. (Photograph courtesy of Professor Edward Fraenkel.)



Οἷος Κυρήνης Ζῆν' ἐθαύμαζόν ποιε,
 τοῖος θεοῖς θ' Ἑλλησι λατρεύσας αἰεὶ
 ἱερᾷ θ' ὁμοίως πατρίδι, τοῖς γέροντά με
 περισσὰ τιμήσασι νῦν χάριν λέγω.

Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf

Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (aet. 80) Kyrene 1928. (Photograph courtesy of the late Dorothea Freifrau Hiller von Gaertringen.)

Heimann, Wilamowitz wrote him a letter of sympathy that I have not found. Fraenkel's reply of June 30, 1919, survives.¹⁰ He gave her Wilamowitz' books as birthday presents and regrets her socialist leanings which since his "Primanerzeit" he has more and more rejected. The view that Wilamowitz' friendship for Fraenkel was especially warm because Tycho had earlier been engaged to Ruth von Velsen is not true.¹¹ Wilamowitz had discerned her ability as a student. He read her dissertation with care,¹² although his encouragement of female students was always restrained.¹³

Two published accounts survive in which Fraenkel describes his great teacher.¹⁴ He valued them enough to republish them in his *Kleine Beiträge*. They are remarkable because they reveal the extent and duration of Wilamowitz' influence upon a man of unusual intelligence and independent character.¹⁵ Fraenkel wrote at age sixty:¹⁶ "To speak of Wilamowitz with any sort of detachment is as yet almost impossible: he is still so near to us, so immensely alive, that at times we do not seem to

¹⁰ Göttingen Nachlaß no. 383 letter no. 10.

¹¹ This was told me by Professor Arnaldo Momigliano, who thought the source V. Ehrenberg. It is clearly reflected at *Encounter*, February 1971, 55: "Ulrich Wilamowitz extended to Eduard the fatherly affection he had for Ruth, who had been close to his son Tycho before he was killed in the war — and of course he appreciated in full Fraenkel's scholarly abilities." I asked Schwester Hildegard von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in January 1976 whether this engagement were historical and she denied emphatically its existence. She recalled the ball at her parents' home before Tycho's departure for the Russian front in 1914, where Ruth von Velsen was not among the guests.

¹² His remarks of November 3, 1916, on it survive. See Appendix 1, below.

¹³ See Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, ap. *Die Akademische Frau: Gutachten hervorragender Universitätsprofessoren, Frauenlehrer und Schriftsteller über die Befähigung der Frau zum wissenschaftlichen Studium und Berufe*. ed. Arthur Kirchhoff (Berlin 1897) 223: "The female psyche too is a soul and not a butterfly . . . One ought no longer to exploit the female as beast of burden, as the Berber does." But (p. 225) women should only be allowed into university lectures "first if the lower age-limit is set rather high and second if the ladies remain guests." For psyche, butterfly, see Ar. *HA* 551a14.

¹⁴ Eduard Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie* II (Rome 1964) 555-562, 563-576. The latter (= "The Latin Studies of Hermann and Wilamowitz," *JRS* 38 [1948] 28-34) is of especial importance.

¹⁵ One recalls *The Times* obituary of Sir Maurice Bowra, no friend of Fraenkel. See *Maurice Bowra, a Celebration*, ed. Hugh Lloyd-Jones (London 1974) 9: "These [his outlook and style] were intensely original and catching, and, remarkably, they made their mark not on the second-rate but on men of independent genius" (Sir Roy Harrod).

¹⁶ *KB* II 565.

be fully aware that he is gone." Wilamowitz was always the reader for whom he wrote. *Agamemnon* is a dialogue with Wilamowitz.

Twelve letters of Eduard Fraenkel to Wilamowitz (1907-1921) survive in the Göttingen *Nachlaß*. Seventeen letters¹⁷ of Wilamowitz to Fraenkel are edited here. None replies to any surviving Fraenkel letter. The group seems to contain most (not all) of the letters from the last period (1923-1931). They provide documentation for a famous and productive scholarly friendship. Most contain material of permanent value to scholarship. The two ephemeral notes are short and included rather than break the collection.¹⁸ The originals are now at Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

I wish to express my gratitude to five people who have made publication possible. Schwester Hildegard von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, the last surviving child of Ulrich, has granted me permission to publish her father's letters. Dr. James Diggle of Queens' College, Cambridge, in London in May 1975 reported to me the existence of these letters. After the intercession of his friend, Dr. Diggle, Professor Edward Fraenkel now of the University of Sussex (School of Mathematical and Physical Sciences) sent xerox copies with useful notes of the letters and the photograph here published of his father to me at Vandoeuvres in June 1975. He generously agreed to my publication and has patiently answered a number of queries. In summer 1975 Professor Dr. G. N. Knauer now of the University of Pennsylvania and Dr. E. R. Knauer kindly transcribed the letters for me. If they had not, my publication would have been considerably delayed and woefully inaccurate. They also supplied valuable exegetical material much of which I have used with indication of its source.¹⁹

I have edited the letters and cards in chronological order. The cards are regularly dated by postmark in which cases I have provided the date in brackets. I have retained the orthography and punctuation of the original. The goal of my commentary has only been to make the documents intelligible to the learned reader without frequent recourse to other volumes.

¹⁷ In fact fifteen are postcards. I use *letters* loosely.

¹⁸ And even they reveal something of the character of Wilamowitz in the poorly documented later period. The *Erinnerungen* end in 1914. To publish letters of the sort published at *Housman Society Journal* 2 (1975) 18-19 is idolatry with no redeeming scholarly value.

¹⁹ H. Lloyd-Jones, Sir Denys Page, and L. E. Rossi have beneficially read all the letters in manuscript. I have discussed various passages with E. A. Fredricksmeyer and E. Christian Kopff. A. Henrichs has kindly controlled the transcriptions. W. Buchwald has caught several slips.

THE LETTERS

I. [14 XII 23]²⁰

Herrn Professor Dr. E. Fränkel²¹

Kiel²²

Esmarchstr 58

Lieber Herr College

Ihr Brief, für den ich sehr danke, hat mit seinen traurigen Nachrichten manche Nachfragen von mir zur folge gehabt. Was ich von Angeboten zum Erholungsaufenthalt von Kollegen constatieren konnte, waren lauter Dinge, die bei dem Sekretariate in Kiel ebenso bekannt sein müssen wie hier. Da fand ich wenig Aussicht. Ich habe keine verwendbaren Verbindungen. Nun ward aber gestern in der Fakultät mitgeteilt, dass die Sudetendeutschen Deutsche Professoren, die es nötig hätten, bei sich aufnehmen wollten. Das könnte etwas sein. Aufforderung war allgemein, Sie finden es also bei Ihrer Universität, zunächst dem Rector.²³

Bitte grüssen Sie Frickenhaus und sprechen ihm meine besten Wünsche aus.²⁴

Auch Ihrer Gattin bestellen Sie bitte unsere Teilnahme.²⁵

Die Zeit wird immer furchtbarer. Ich habe die Katastrophe längst erwartet. Wenn man nur die Schuldigen hängen könnte, aber man macht Schutzgesetze für diese Verbrecher.²⁶

Hoffentlich haben Sie doch noch Stimmung das Fest zu feiern²⁷ und das neue Jahr zu begrüßen.

Mit schönsten Grüßen Ihr UWilamowitz

²⁰ All letters are written from Eichenallee 12, Berlin-Charlottenburg.

²¹ Wilamowitz never writes "Fraenkel."

²² Fraenkel was Ordinarius for Classical Philology at Kiel from 1922 to 1928: see Williams (above, n.2) 420.

²³ The specific case I cannot recover.

²⁴ August Frickenhaus (1882-1925), a former student of Wilamowitz, married to the daughter of Georg Dehio (1851-1932), would be dead in eighteen months. He was the type that Wilamowitz liked: see G. Karo, *Gnomon* 1 (1925) 181-184, and L. Malten, *BiogrJahrbuch* 210 (1926) 1-29.

²⁵ Probably the death of Ruth's father to whom she was devoted (Edward Fraenkel).

²⁶ Wilamowitz had little sympathy with the new government. His letters to Danish friends who sent him food packets reveal his domestic difficulties.

²⁷ That Wilamowitz assumes Fraenkel will celebrate Christmas supports Lloyd-Jones' assertion against Momigliano that Fraenkel "took no interest" in orthodox Judaism: see *Gnomon* 43 (1971) 634 n.1. Professor Edward Fraenkel emphatically agrees with Lloyd-Jones.

2.

[13 III 25]

Herrn Professor Dr. Eduard Fränkel

Kiel

Feldstr 9²⁸

Sehr geehrter Herr College

Ich sehe, dass Sie zur Gymnasialtagung²⁹ hier sind, da hoffe ich, Sie machen uns die Freude und kommen an dem freien Abend Mittwoch 8 April 7 1/2 zu uns zum Abendessen.

Mit ergebenstem Gruss

Ihr

UWilamowitz

3.

[16 III 25]

Herrn Professor Dr. Ed. Fränkel

Kiel

Esmarchstr 58

Lieber Herr College

Wir werden uns ganz besonders freuen, wenn Ihre Gattin Sie begleitet³⁰ und hoffen, dass die Kinder es gestatten.

Mit bestem Grusse

Ihr

UWilamowitz

²⁸ Presumably his office address: cf. *Illinois Classical Studies* 2 (1977) 467.

²⁹ "Vom 6. bis 9. April fand in Berlin unter dem Vorsitz von W. Jaeger, E. Kroymann, O. Morgenstern und W. Kranz die vom Zentralinstitut für Erziehung und Unterricht veranstaltete Tagung 'Das Gymnasium' statt." *Gnomon* 1 (1925) 51, where a list of speakers follows. See further Anton Funck, "'Das Gymnasium'. Ostertagung in Berlin," *Gnomon* 1 (1925) 114-117, for a summary of the conference. The twenty-six speeches were later published: see Ed. Fraenkel, "Die Stelle des Römertums in der humanistischen Bildung," *Das Gymnasium*, ed. O. Morgenstern (Leipzig 1926) 85-109. Fraenkel did not include the address in his *Kleine Beiträge*.

³⁰ We may reconstruct the cause for this note. Professor Edward Fraenkel writes (October 13, 1975), "... my father loved to quote Wilamowitz' remark that the best thing about Fraenkel was his wife."

4.
Herrn Professor Dr. E. Fränkel
Kiel

[no date]³¹

Esmarchstr 58

Hochgeehrter Herr College

Ihr Brief trifft mich im Aufbruch. Ich soll im Auftrage des Reiches in Florenz, wo eine deutsche Kulturwoche ist (scheint mir töricht) einen Vortrag halten.³² Ich kann also nicht gleich an die Schriften Leos gehen. Selbstverständlich stelle ich alles zur Verfügung. Vermutlich wird es richtig sein, dass ich Ihnen erst ein Verzeichnis sende, wo Sie dann auswählen können. In den Pfingstferien soll das geschehen; ich

³¹ Wilamowitz normally did not date postcards; and this one lacked a postmark because it was placed into an envelope and mailed with the list of Leo's writings. Because the Florentine *Kulturwoche* took place May 9-16, 1925, this card was written shortly before, sc. early May 1925.

³² Wilamowitz' address (see Fraenkel, *KB* II 575-576), "*Storia italica*," first published in *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* n.s. 4 (= 54) (1926) 1-18, is reprinted at *KS* V 1² (Berlin 1971) 220-235. An extemporary Latin speech on Roman comedy followed (Pasquali, *Pagine* I [below, n.108] 69). At this conference occurred the famous meeting of Wilamowitz with Thomas Mann: see especially B. Snell, *AuA* 12 (1966) 95-96. Wilamowitz was irritated at Mann's decision publicly to read Felix Krull's attempt to draftdodge and observed (Snell, p. 95): "Mit solchen Gaunergeschichten will der deutsche Kulturpropaganda treiben!" Later when he read Mann's entry in a photographer's guestbook ("Der Schriftsteller ist ein Mensch, dem das Schreiben besonders schwer fällt"), he retorted: "Dann soll er's doch sein lassen."

Mann's address was on "Goethe und Tolstoi" and he stayed as "Gast im Landhaus Dr. Richter": see Hans Bürgin and Hans Otto Mayer, *Thomas Mann: Eine Chronik seines Lebens* (Frankfurt 1965) 69. On May 17, 1925, he sent a postcard from Venice with the sentiment, "Die Florentiner Woche war freundlich bis auf Ihren Kollegen Wilamowitz, der ein Alptraum war": see Thomas Mann, *Briefe an Ernst Bertram* (Pfullingen 1960) 139. He wrote a famous letter to Kerényi on July 15, 1936: "Dass der nicht sehr selige Wilamowitz nur mässig gut darin weg kommt, ist nur eine Nebengenußnahme. (Ich habe dies eitle Gespenst nie leiden können und mich immer gewundert, dass er seit seinem Angriff auf Nietzsche überhaupt noch den Mund aufzumachen wagte. Er war doch eine Art von männlicher Kundry, er hatte 'gelacht.' Ein grosser Gelehrter mag er bis an sein Ende gewesen sein. Als Geist kam er nicht mehr in Betracht.)" See Thomas Mann, *Briefe 1889-1936* (Kempten/Allgäu 1962) 419. Kerényi identifies the offprint for which Mann thanks him as *Orphische Seele*: see Karl Kerényi, *Gespräch in Briefen* (Zürich 1960) 208. Mann refers to *Parsifal* act 2, where Kundry sings "Ich sah — Ihn — Ihn / und — lachte . . ." I owe the references in this paragraph to John S. Mautner. Mann's view is unfair in the extreme.

komme nicht nach Weimar.³³ Meine Briefe³⁴ hat, so weit ich mich erinnere, schon ein Göttinger in Händen gehabt. Sie werden aber nichts ausgeben; er pflegte von seinen Arbeiten eben so wenig zu reden wie ich.³⁵ Ich übersehe seine Entwicklung und halte für richtig, auf sie nicht einzugehen, obwohl sie ihm zur höchsten Ehre gereicht. Das schwere Stück Selbsterziehung, das er geleistet hat, rechtfertigt die Erstarrung seines endlichen Wesens.³⁶

Mit schönsten Grüßen

Ihr UWilamowitz

Ich habe doch noch rasch³⁷ das Verzeichnis gemacht; alles Alte fehlt mir also und Sie werden schwerlich etwas brauchen.³⁸

4a.

Mai 1925³⁹

... Da er retractationes nicht liebte, muss der Aufsatz zur plautinischen Metrik fallen, obgleich ich ihn seiner Zeit besonders geschätzt habe.⁴⁰

³³ The second "Fachtagung der Altertumswissenschaft" took place in Weimar in *Pfingstwoche* 1926: see *Gnomon* 2 (1926) 429-430. The first would have occurred there the year before. Wilamowitz normally never attended meetings of philologists which he called meetings of *Nichtphilologen*. Wiesbaden in September 1877 was an exception: see Usener und Wilamowitz, *Ein Briefwechsel 1870-1905* (Leipzig/Berlin 1934) 5-6. So was Göttingen in September 1927: see *KS* III 461, 511.

³⁴ The correspondence with Leo is not preserved in the Göttingen Nachlass. Wilamowitz later obtained the entire correspondence which in 1935 was in the possession of his widow in Berlin: see Friedrich and Dorothea Hiller von Gaertringen, *Mommsen und Wilamowitz: Briefwechsel 1872-1903* (Berlin 1935) 565. The letter to Leo from Greifswald dated May 8, 1878, announcing his engagement, is all that has survived (Hiller von Gaertringen, pp. 534-535). The collection was destroyed in the bombing of Eichenallee 12.

³⁵ In fact in the correspondence with Georg Kaibel, Wilamowitz speaks in detail of his work.

³⁶ This mysterious sentence presumably means: "I oversee his development and consider it correct not to go into it, although it is a most remarkable achievement. The difficult job of self-improvement which he achieved excuses the rigidification of his mortal being." (A. Henrichs understands "of his ultimate, or eventual, character.") See further Hiller (above n.34) 27.

³⁷ The point is that he has written, although he thought he would not, the list of Leo's writings to be included in the *Kleine Schriften*.

³⁸ For Fraenkel's final choice see Friedrich Leo (above, n.1). Fraenkel refers to Wilamowitz' early help at I vii.

³⁹ The date is from Leo, *KS* I xxvi n.1, where G. N. Knauer found this sentence from a Wilamowitz letter not included among those edited here.

⁴⁰ Nor did Wilamowitz like revisions: see his remarks to Harnack in *Studia Byzantina* II (Berlin 1973) 378, 385.

5.

[5 VIII 25]

Herrn Professor Dr. Ed. Fränkel

Kiel

Esmarchstr 58

Hochgeehrter Herr College

Wenn's dem Stud. Thierfelder⁴¹ so sehr drum zu tun ist, mag er, wie Sie vorschlagen, seiner Zeit telephonisch fragen, ob ich für ihn dahin, und ich werde mich gern mit ihm unterhalten.⁴² Ich denke nicht zu verreisen.

Mit ergebensten Grüßen

Ihr

UWilamowitz

6.

[9 VII 27]

Herrn Professor Dr. Ed. Fränkel

Kiel

Esmarchstr 53⁴³

Hochgeehrter Herr College

Vor allem den Eltern den besten Glückwunsch zu dem jüngsten Erdenbürger,⁴⁴ jedes Kind ist immer, und jetzt zumal, eine Hoffnung, an der nicht nur die Eltern Teil haben. Und sie wachsen wie die jungen Bäume am besten, wenn sie so zu sagen in Gruppen eng zusammenstehen.

Ich hoffte, dass Sie meine Lysistrate⁴⁵ begrüßen würden; der Dichter verlangte, dass man mal zeigte, wie sie auf der Bühne⁴⁶ sich ausnahm. Das Buch ist freilich ganz rasch gemacht, was sich nicht verleugnen wird. Der Einfall kam mir plötzlich und ich musste es rasch los

⁴¹ Andreas Thierfelder (1903—), an eager and favorite student of Ed. Fraenkel: see *Iktus und Akzent* (below, n.64) 357 (G. N. Knauer).

⁴² Wilamowitz always had time to encourage intelligent young students.

⁴³ A second hand has crossed out the street address and replaced it with Moltkestr 58.

⁴⁴ Ludwig Edward Fraenkel, today professor at the School of Mathematical and Physical Sciences, the University of Sussex, was born at Moltkestrasse 58 on May 28, 1927, third son and fifth child.

⁴⁵ Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Aristophanes Lysistrate* (Berlin 1927). For the reviews see Hiller-Klaffenbach, *Bibliographie* (above, n.6) 70 no. 717. Wilamowitz had sent a copy to Fraenkel.

⁴⁶ Wilamowitz' *Actio* "greatly helps the reader to take his mind off the pages of the printed book and direct it towards the orchestra at the foot of the Acropolis": Ed. Fraenkel, *Aeschylus Agamemnon* I (Oxford 1950) 61.

werden.⁴⁷ Gelesen wird's wohl so wenig werden wie die andern.⁴⁸

Ich bin müde und habe wenig Zuversicht zu dem was kommen soll, aber ich lasse mich treiben.⁴⁹

Mit besten Grüßen in alter Ergebenheit

Ihr

UWilamowitz

7.

[27 VII 27]

Herrn Professor Dr. Eduard Fränkel

Kiel

Esmarchstr 53⁵⁰

Hochgeehrter Herr College

diese versus quadrati⁵¹ als nationalrömische Verse hat der alte Pfortner vor 60 Jahren⁵² von W. Corssen⁵³ vorgeführt erhalten und er kann daher eine ganze Anzahl seitdem auswendig. Ihre Herleitung aus Grossgriechenland ist kühn, hoffentlich richtig. Fatal,⁵⁴ dass Epicharm nichts bietet.

Wichtig, dass die chorische Lyrik, meist auch die Tragoedie⁵⁵ — ~ — — || nicht mag, am liebsten⁵⁶ über das erste Metron hinausgreift. D.h. sie darf nicht volksmässig sein.⁵⁷

Mit schönsten Grüßen

Ihr

UWilamowitz

⁴⁷ For Wilamowitz' haste of composition in his later books (he did not know he would live to be almost 83): see *GRBS* 16 (1975) 453. He writes of *Die Heimkehr des Odysseus* (Berlin 1927), published in the same year (p. v): "Das Buch ist, wie oft auch einzelne Kapitel umgeformt sind, in einem Zuge geschrieben und verlangt ebenso gelesen zu werden."

⁴⁸ Cf. *Heimkehr* (above, n.47) vi: "Es gibt Bücher über Homerisches, die ich ungelesen beiseite gelegt habe. Ihren Verfassern rate ich dringend, es mit dem meinen ebenso zu machen." At *Aischylos Interpretationen* (Berlin 1914) 204 he complains that Blass ignores all that he says.

⁴⁹ "I am tired and have little confidence in the future, but I let myself drift."

⁵⁰ Replaced by a second hand with Moltkestr 58; cf. n.43, above.

⁵¹ Ed. Fraenkel, "Die Vorgeschichte des versus quadratus," *Hermes* 62 (1927) 357-370 = *KB* II 11-24. Presumably Wilamowitz has read an offprint. G. N. Knauer first identified the reference.

⁵² Wilamowitz was enrolled at Schulpforte April 24, 1862-September 9, 1867.

⁵³ Wilhelm Paul Corssen (1820-1875), teacher at the Pforte 1844-1866, retired early because of alcoholism: see *Erinnerungen*² (above, n.4) 80-81. Wilamowitz with Mommsen attended his funeral at Lichterfelde. Cf. *Reden* I⁴. 20 n.1.

⁵⁴ Merely too bad.

⁵⁵ Thus L. Rossi.

⁵⁶ am liebsten is probable rather than certain (Knauers).

⁵⁷ A reference to *Hermes* 62 (1927) 366 = *KB* II 19-20 (G. N. Knauer).

8. [19 XII 27]

Herrn Professor Dr. Eduard Fränkel
Kiel

Moltkestr 58

Lieber Herr College⁵⁸

Ich danke sehr für die Mahnung an einen allerdings beschämenden Beweis für die Hast, mit der ich gearbeitet hatte. Die Masse Druckfehler in dem Buche⁵⁹ hat allerdings daran die Erklärung, dass ich den Damen die Revision der Bogen überlassen hatte, die angeblich die Stellen nachschlagen.⁶⁰ Aber hier trifft es mich. Aber noch viel mehr danke ich für Ihr Eindringen in die Metrik und die Anerkennung einer so seltenen Erscheinung,⁶¹ die zu leugnen und durch wilde Korrekturen zu beseitigen sehr billig ist.

Mit den schönsten Grüßen zum Feste⁶² und neuen Jahre
Ihr
UWilamowitz

9. 27 X 28⁶³

Hochgeehrter Herr College

Nun habe ich Ihr schweres Buch⁶⁴ wenigstens so weit gelesen, dass ich folgen kann, und eher wollte ich Ihnen nicht danken. Und das erste ist der Glückwunsch, dass Sie die Bürde los sind, denn jedes Wort in

⁵⁸ A rare form of address which I can parallel in letters to Drachmann: cf. nos. 1 and 3, above.

⁵⁹ *Lysistrate*, which Wilamowitz had sent Fraenkel five months earlier (no. 6, above).

⁶⁰ Wilamowitz clearly refers to the permanent book editors at the Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung who were supposed to check his quotations but failed to do so properly. (G. N. Knauer). But a reference to wife and daughters is not impossible.

⁶¹ The reference is unclear. G. N. Knauer suggests *Lysistrate*, pp. 60 and 151.

⁶² Cf. n.27, above.

⁶³ This three page letter bears Wilamowitz' own date which therefore is not bracketed. It is in fact Wilamowitz' review of *Iktus und Akzent*, a copy of which Fraenkel had sent his teacher. "This book was a disaster, and was reluctantly accepted as such by its author so that, in later years, he would scarcely speak of it (except for its observations on hyperbaton in prose and verse)" (G. Williams, *Fraenkel* [above, n.2] 427). The book did not survive the famous review of Paul Maas, *DLZ* 50 (1929) 2244-2247 = *Kleine Schriften*, ed. W. Buchwald (Munich 1973) 588-591. For a recent friendly view of what Fraenkel sought to do in *Iktus* and later publications, see Eric Laughton, *JRS* 60 (1970) 188-194. The identification of the Latin texts and the references to *Iktus* in the notes on this letter were provided by G. N. Knauer.

⁶⁴ Eduard Fraenkel, *Iktus und Akzent im lateinischen Sprechvers, mit einem Beitrag von Andreas Thierfelder* (Berlin 1928).

jedem Dialogverse zu überlegen, ist sicherlich zur Qual geworden. Und die Hauptschlacht, die siegreiche Durchführung einer alten These, ist sicherlich gewonnen. Die Cicero und Laberiusverse⁶⁵ sammt allem im ersten Abschnitt⁶⁶ sind besonders schlagend.

Eigentlich aber müssen Sie noch ein Buch schreiben, denn so wie Sie es von Plautus annehmen, dass er z. B. nahzusammenhängende Worte mit Verletzung des Wortakzentes gebraucht, müssen doch die Römer gesprochen haben. Aber wie ging das? Sprachen sie nullús timor?⁶⁷ Und in den Fällen der Sperrung sprachen sie da anders? repperit patrém Palaestra suom,⁶⁸ aber ohne suom haben sie pátrém gesprochen? Und da in lebhafter, zumal italischer Rede sehr viel mehr emphatische Betonung ist, ward da um der Emphasis willen Endbetonung eingeführt? Denn das setze ich natürlich voraus, dass Sie dem Plautus keine bewussten Regeln, keine Absicht in allen Einzelfällen zutrauen.

Als er den Trimeter übernahm, war er genötigt, am Versende so gut wie immer die Betonung des Lebens zu verletzen. Bei seinen Vorbildern war sie immer verletzt oder vielmehr hatte keine Bedeutung. Im Langvers liess er sich gehen. Sonst folgte er dem Gebrauche des Lebens so viel er konnte. Aber war es durchführbar? Ein kretisches Wort ging nach ihren⁶⁹ Regeln eigentlich gar nicht in den Vers.⁷⁰ Nun hat die Enklisis, die Synaloephe, also gesprochene Rede, viel geholfen. Ich zweifle nicht, dass manche eng zusammengehörige Wörter unter einen Akzent getreten sind, wie wir quattuórviri sagen. Aber so wie ich mir einen Poeten wie Plautus denke, wird er auch der Not ohne Skrupel nachgegeben haben. Vollends der erste Fuss⁷¹ — nehmen Sie mir nicht übel, da kostet es Ihnen so viele verschiedene Rechtfertigungen, dass der Leser meinen kann, praktisch ist das ziemlich dasselbe wie 'der Fuss ist so frei wie der letzte.'

Ich stelle mir das Versemachen immer praktisch vor, mir bewusst, dass mein Ohr zumal in diesem Latein ungenügend hört. Aber *seinem* Ohre folgt doch jeder, nicht bloss der Dichter, wenn er seine Rede rhythmisch binden will. Und wenn erst Klauseln vorgeschrieben werden, ist es eine Erstarrung. Von der ist Plautus Gott sei Dank in allem frei. Es mag ein falscher, jedenfalls ein nicht gewollter Eindruck sein, dass

⁶⁵ *Iktus* (above, n.64) 316–322.

⁶⁶ *Iktus* (above, n.64) 12–26.

⁶⁷ Laberius 102 Ribbeck: see *Iktus* (above, n.64) 121, 320.

⁶⁸ Plautus *Rudens* 1267: see *Iktus* (above, n.64) 114.

⁶⁹ A slip for *Ihren* = Fraenkel's. (G. N. Knauer).

⁷⁰ *Iktus* (above, n.64) 91 ff.

⁷¹ *Iktus* (above, n.64) 91–162.

Sie diese Freiheit beeinträchtigen, weil Sie nur sprachliche, lautliche Rücksichten gelten lassen. Dann meine ich, müssen Rückschlüsse auf die gesprochene Sprache gezogen werden und ein anderes Buch wird gewünscht.

Ich bin ein Bönhase⁷² in dem ganzen alten Latein,⁷³ daran mag es liegen, dass ich nach dem ersten überwältigenden Eindruck zu mancher Frage, hie und da auch zum Kopfschütteln getrieben bin, davon zwang mich die Ehrlichkeit, Ihnen zugleich mit meinem Danke und Glückwunsch auch einiges auszusprechen. Sie werden es nicht übel nehmen.

Mit den schönsten Grüßen

Ihr ganz ergebener

UWilamowitz

10.

21 XII 28

Lieber Herr College

Schon heute, noch ehe mich der ganze Strudel⁷⁴ fasst, bin ich halb tot, aber einen kurzen Dank sollen Sie doch und Ihre Gattin, der ich besonders erfreut danke, erhalten.

Eben hatte ich ein langes Carmen lesen müssen, das kaum einen wirklich lateinischen Hexameter enthielt,⁷⁵ da konnte ich mich an Ihrem Epigramm erbauen, ich bin in dieser Hinsicht anspruchsvoll.

⁷² *Bönhase* or *Bönnhase*, an obsolete word, means *Pfuscher* (Professor Thomas Nipperdey), English *botcher* or *bungler*, originally of a tailor not in a guild: see Kluge-Götze-Schirmer-Mitzka, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache*¹⁷ (Berlin 1957) 89 s.v. "Bönnhase." Apparently a vogue word in academic circles of Wilamowitz' time: see Hermann Diels, *Elementum: Eine Vorarbeit zum griechischen und lateinischen Thesaurus* (Leipzig 1899) 2, and G. Jacob, *Der Einfluss des Morgenlandes auf das Abendland vornehmlich während des Mittelalters* (Hanover 1924) 43, 44 (E. R. Knauer).

⁷³ In fact Wilamowitz was an exceptionally competent Latinist: see Ed. Fraenkel, "The Latin Studies of Hermann and Wilamowitz," *KB* II 565-576 = *JRS* 38 (1948) 29-34.

⁷⁴ For the festivities accompanying Wilamowitz' eightieth birthday, December 22, 1928, see Schwester Hildegard von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, ap. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *In wieweit befriedigen die Schlüsse der erhaltenen griechischen Trauerspiele? Ein ästhetischer Versuch* ed. W. M. Calder III (Leiden 1974) 160-161, and Paul Friedländer, *Studien zur antiken Literatur und Kunst* (Berlin 1969) 673, where Friedländer recalls the students' torchlight procession to Wilamowitz' garden at Eichenallee 12 on the evening of December 21, 1928. Was the *carmen* read then? For the birthday portrait see the second plate. The Greek poem of thanks is published at Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *ΕΛΕΓΕΙΑ*, ed. W. Buchwald (Berlin 1938) 50 (cf. 61).

⁷⁵ The *carmen* has not survived. Wilamowitz had long lamented the decline in Latin verse composition: see *Griechische Verskunst* (Berlin 1921) vi-vii and *Erinnerungen*² (Leipzig 1929) 65 n.1.

Ich hatte der Verlagsbuchhandlung, als sie einige Rezensions-exemplare⁷⁶ verschicken wollte, Sie ganz besonders bezeichnet, als einen, der mich aus Berlin lange⁷⁷ kannte und Philologie verstünde. Das scheint nicht befolgt zu sein. So sollen Sie doch erfahren, dass ich mich Ihrem iudicium unterwerfen wollte.

Sie werden begreifen, dass ich mich über weiteres nicht verbreite. Wir wollen, so lange ich noch da bin, weiter gute Freundschaft halten.

Treulichst

Ihr

UvWilamowitz⁷⁸

II.⁷⁹

[28 VII 29]

Herrn Professor Dr. E. Fränkel

Göttingen

Dahlmannstr 3

Lieber Herr College

Da kann ich auch nichts weiter tun als Sie selbst. Die beiden Stellen sehen so aus, dass man sie zusammen nehmen möchte, obwohl es nicht ganz leicht ist, wie man zur Rechten des Gottes stehen kann. Weihreliefs lassen so etwas nicht erkennen. Aber man muss erst warten, bis sich mehr Zeugnisse finden, da es doch etwas allgemein Geübtes sein muss.

Mit ergebensten Grüßen

Ihr

UWilamowitz

12.

[10 II 30]

Herrn Professor Dr. Ed. Fränkel

Göttingen

Dahlmannstr 3

Hochgeehrter Herr College. Ich stimme mit dem Scholiasten⁸⁰ ganz überein, der Herausgeber muss vor ἐναποτεῖσαι⁸¹ einen Gedankenstrich

⁷⁶ Wilamowitz had ordered the press (K. F. Koehler, Leipzig) to send Fraenkel a copy of *Erinnerungen 1848-1914* (above, n.4). He had dedicated the book to his wife on their golden wedding day (September 20, 1928).

⁷⁷ Some twenty-five years.

⁷⁸ Fraenkel had recently moved from Kiel to Göttingen, probably in late summer: see G. Williams, (above, n.2) 420. Presumably Wilamowitz had been involved in the appointment and would have congratulated Fraenkel but such a letter is not to hand. Because this is a letter, not a postcard, no address is preserved and the date is Wilamowitz' own.

⁷⁹ I cannot identify the subject of this postcard.

⁸⁰ Scholium ad Aristoph., *Aves* 38 = 211.24-27 Dübner = 21-22 White.

⁸¹ Aristoph. *Aves* 38. See B. B. Rogers, *The Comedies of Aristophanes* III (London 1913) 7 ad loc., where the scholiast is printed and endorsed.

machen, παρ' ὑπόνοιαν. 'An Athen selbst haben wir gar nichts auszusetzen. Eine grosse blühende Stadt, und demokratisch,' πᾶσι κοινή, kleine Pause, dann heisst es 'und alle miteinander müssen in ihr Geld blechen.'⁸² Nun wird dafür die Begründung in anderem komisch ernstem Tone gegeben 'Nämlich die Cicaden singen ja (μὲν οὖν setzt scharf ab) nur ein par [sic] Monate, aber die Athener singen das ganze Leben auf (bei) den Prozessen.'⁸³ Um Richtersold handelt es sich freilich nicht; diese Einnahme verscheuchte die Auswanderer⁸⁴ nicht. Aber dass sie immerzu Prozesse auf dem Halse hatten, συκοφαντούμενοι, wie der Scholiast erklärt,⁸⁵ war kostspielig und unerfreulich.

Das können Sie ja sagen, es bleibt unausgesprochen, wieso es zum ἐναποτεῖσαι χρήματα kommt, aber ich meine, der Athener verstand das, denn die ἐπὶ τῶν δικῶν⁸⁶ sind ja die Richter.

Ein Ausfall in diesem durch Scholien gesicherten Texte würde mir an sich kaum glaublich sein, zumal ein äusserlicher Anstoss fehlt.

Bei Empedokles⁸⁷ ist εἴλη, was Ihnen gleich einfiel, wie es bei mir das erste gewesen war, doch richtig, ich kann es nun inhaltlich rechtfertigen.⁸⁸

Mit schönsten Grüssen

in alter Ergebenheit

Ihr UWilamowitz

13.

[23 VII 30]

Herrn Professor Dr. Ed. Fränkel

Göttingen

Dahlmannstr 3

ἐμοὶ μὲν ἡ τρυῖς ἐκποτέα "στι τοῦ βίου.
σῇ δ' ἐστὶν ὥρα· πρᾶσσε καὶ ποίει καλά.⁸⁹

⁸² Compare Droysen's

Als ob sie an sich nicht schön und gross und glücklich sei,
Und allen gemeinsam, drin zu versporteln Hab' und Gut.

⁸³ *Aves* 39-41.

⁸⁴ That is Euelpides and Peisetaerus.

⁸⁵ 211.26 Dübner. Neither Wilamowitz nor Fraenkel published an interpretation of this passage but for Fraenkel's work on the text of *Aves* see *KB I* 427-451 = *Studien zur Textgeschichte und Textkritik* (Festschrift G. Jachmann) (Köln-Opladen 1959) 9-30 and *Beobachtungen zu Aristophanes* (Rome 1962) 61-99. Did Wilamowitz' letter resolve whatever difficulty Fraenkel had with these verses? I think so.

⁸⁶ *Aves* 41.

⁸⁷ *FdVorsokr I* 31 B 21.4 (I.319). (G. N. Knauer).

⁸⁸ See *Hermes* 65 (1930) 248 = *KS IV* 516. (G. N. Knauer).

⁸⁹ I am grateful to Sir Denys Page, who deciphered ἐκποτέα "στι. Fraenkel was unhappy at Göttingen (see Williams [above, n.2] 420), where Wilamowitz had

14.

[23 X 30]

Herrn Professor Dr. Ed. Fränkel

Göttingen

Dahlmannstr.⁹⁰

Lieber Herr College, schönen Dank für Ihre freundliche Aufnahme meines Vergil,⁹¹ der mir allerdings viel Arbeit gemacht hatte. Ich gebe zu, dass die erste der Eklogen ein wirklich schönes Gedicht ist.⁹² IX steckt voll Theokrit, und IV wird mir durch die Deutungen unausstehlich, bei denen allen irgend was nicht stimmt. Wenn er einen vergeblich gehofften Sohn des Caesar gemeint hätte, konnte er das Gedicht nach der Geburt einer Tochter nicht in sein Buch aufnehmen.⁹³ Einzelne prachtvolle Verse stehen drin, aber die machen das Ganze nicht gut. Leider haben mir die Süddeutschen Monatshefte keine Abzüge eines kleinen Artikels angefertigt. Nebengedanken zu Vergils Jubiläum, die eigentlich dazugehören.⁹⁴

Wenn die Flut verlaufen ist, sollte jemand zusammenfassen, was das Jubiläum für Vergil wirklich gebracht hat. Die Vergleichung der

been so happy (*Erinnerungen*² [above, n.4] 239). He accepted in 1930 an invitation to Freiburg im Breisgau, where he removed in 1931. Wilamowitz' couplet replies to the news of this decision. Throughout his life Wilamowitz composed such poems, usually Greek, sometimes Latin, to honor special occasions in his friends' lives: see Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *EAETEIA*, ed. W. Buchwald (Berlin 1938), where fifty are gathered. For the first verse G. N. Knauer compares Ar. *Plut.* 1085 and Pherecr. fr. 249 Kock (= *CAF* 1.209). An Aristophanic reminiscence in a poem to Fraenkel was a thoughtful touch.

⁹⁰ The street number is omitted.

⁹¹ "Vergilius: Zu seinem 2000. Geburtstage," *Deutsche Rundschau* 225 (Okt.-Dez. 1930) 12-22 = *KS* VI 360-374. (G. N. Knauer).

⁹² A concession: see *KS* VI 363: "... aber den lebenswahren Realismus, den Theokrit mit der peinlich sauberen Form verbindet, vermissen wir schmerzlich. Es ist kein echter Ruhm, daß Vergils Hirten die Tändeleien der Schäferpoesie erzeugt haben, aber für die geschichtliche Wirkung Vergils fällt es doch stark in die Waage."

⁹³ Cf. *KS* VI 363: "... es fehlt auch nicht an der lustigen, ganz unhaltbaren Vermutung, die Prophezeiung wäre gleich zuschanden geworden, weil statt des Knaben ein Mädchen zur Welt kam. Kann eigentlich ein Gedicht, das sich nicht verstehen läßt, ein gutes Gedicht sein, es sei denn, daß der Dichter ein Schalk war, der die Leute mit Absicht in den Irrgarten führte; aber ein Schalk ist Vergil nicht gewesen." Nettleship and Fowler had argued that Vergil composed the poem in hope that Julia would have been a boy and published it anyway: see W. Warde Fowler, *HSCP* 14 (1903) 33-34.

⁹⁴ "Nebengedanken bei dem Jubiläum Vergils," *Süddeutsche Monatshefte* 28 (1930/1931) 43-46 = *KS* VI 375-381. For further views of Wilamowitz on Vergil see *Reden und Vorträge* I⁵ (Dublin/Zürich 1967) 344-349.

Nationen, auch wo man nichts gesagt hat, müsste recht belehrend werden.

Mit schönsten Grüßen

Ihr UWilamowitz

15.

[5 XII 30]

Herrn Professor Dr. Ed. Fränkel

Göttingen

Dahlmannstr 3

Schönen Dank, lieber Herr College, für den schönen Aufsatz über die hieratischen Lieder.⁹⁵ Diese Folgerungen hatte ich nicht gezogen, sie sind vollkommen überzeugend.⁹⁶

Ich hoffe Ihrer Sendung entnehmen zu können, dass es Ihnen wieder gut geht. Ich selbst muss mich sehr stille halten, um einigermaßen fortarbeiten zu können.⁹⁷

Schönste Grüße

Ihr

UvWilamowitz

16.

Charlottenburg 9

10 I 31

Hochgeehrter lieber Herr College⁹⁸

Nach Halle ist von mir schon öfter über Hiller⁹⁹ die Erklärung gekommen, dass H. Fränkel¹⁰⁰ für sie der rechte Mann wäre. Ich muss

⁹⁵ Fraenkel had sent him an offprint of "Der Zeushymnus im Agamemnon des Aischylos," *Philologus* 86 (1931) 1-17 = *KB* I 353-369 (G. N. Knauer). The article makes frequent use of Wilamowitz' earlier work. In summer semester 1930 Fraenkel held an *Agamemnon* seminar at Göttingen (C. J. Classen).

⁹⁶ One is always struck by the old scholar's eagerness to learn: cf. *KS* I 466 (of Schadewaldt's dissertation): "... aber es bleibt anderes, wo ich nun erst den Irrtum erkannt habe, umzulernen stets bereit." Schadewaldt then was twenty-six years old.

⁹⁷ An ironic echo of *Aischylos Interpretationen* (Berlin 1914) 166 n.2 ("einigermaßen die Erzählung der Ereignisse von Aulis fortsetzend") on the *Stille* at Aulis, the citation with which Fraenkel begins his discussion (*KB* I 353).

⁹⁸ A letter, not a postcard. The envelope is preserved with the address Göttingen, Dahlmannstr 8.

⁹⁹ Friedrich Freiherr Hiller von Gaertringen (1864-1947): see G. Klaffenbach, *Gnomon* 21 (1949) 274-277. Wilamowitz thought of his son-in-law and next door neighbor as a hard worker rather than a genius and called him in the family (for he was impotent) "Unser Hauseunuchus" (Luise von der Hude, geb. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff).

¹⁰⁰ Hermann Ferdinand Fränkel (1888—), the brother-in-law of Eduard,

Umwege machen, da ich nicht direkt gefragt werde. Übrigens habe ich wenig Hoffnung. So ernste kritische und sprachlich-stilistische Arbeiten werden wohl von dem Orphiker nicht gelesen.¹⁰¹

Geffcken¹⁰² wird mir grollen, weil ich ihm mein Befremden über seine Litt. Gesch.¹⁰³ nicht verhehlt habe. Der treffliche Helm¹⁰⁴ müsste es tun. Ohne Gelegenheit dazu habe ich nie in Berufungssachen eingegriffen. Es wäre aber geradezu ein Verbrechen gegen die Wissenschaft, wenn der Editor des Apollonios¹⁰⁵ vor irgendeinem Religionshistoriker zurückgestellt würde. Latte¹⁰⁶ halte ich freilich für N. 1;¹⁰⁷ aber der geht weder nach Halle noch nach Rostock. Wenn Pasquali¹⁰⁸

whose sister he had married in 1915 and who in 1931 was Extraordinarius at Göttingen. He did not receive the Halle post. His father, Max Fränkel (ob. 1903), librarian, biographer of August Boeckh, epigraphist, was a friend of Wilamowitz' parents and an early (1870's) correspondent of Wilamowitz.

¹⁰¹ A barbed reference to Otto Kern. A. Henrichs compares Wilamowitz, *Hellenistische Dichtung* I (Berlin 1924) 62 n.2; *Der Glaube der Hellenen* II² (Basel 1956) 197, 200.

¹⁰² Johannes Geffcken (1861-1935): see Rudolf Helm, *BiogJahrAlt* 245 (1936) 80-104. He wrote his dissertation under Wilamowitz at Göttingen (1886), and did much later work under his guidance. "Das Verhältnis aber zwischen ihm und dem Meister [sc. Geffcken and Wilamowitz] . . . gestaltete sich mehr zu einer stillen Freundschaft, wie es Wilamowitz einmal genannt hat, der freilich in seinen Erinnerungen . . . seltsamerweise gerade den Namen Geffckens vergessen hat" (Helm, p. 89). In 1931 Geffcken was Ordinarius for Greek at Rostock.

¹⁰³ Johannes Geffcken, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte I, von den Anfängen bis auf die Sophistenzeit*, 2 vols. (Heidelberg 1926). The *History* was never finished, although a second volume (from Demokritos to Aristotle) appeared in 1934. I have found the history filled with original and stimulating ideas. I do not know what Wilamowitz' objections were.

¹⁰⁴ Rudolf Helm (1872-1966), Ordinarius for Latin at Rostock. It seems to be a matter of recommending H. Fränkel for Geffcken's chair. Wilamowitz does not think he can influence Geffcken and suggests that Ed. Fraenkel work through Helm.

¹⁰⁵ In fact Fränkel's OCT did not appear until 1961.

¹⁰⁶ Kurt Latte (1891-1964): see Rudolf Stark, *Gnomon* 37 (1965) 215-219. Latte succeeded Ed. Fraenkel at Göttingen (Stark, p. 216); and Fraenkel clearly was asking his teacher's advice. Wilamowitz, *Griechische Verskunst* (Berlin 1921) 29 n.4, by remarkable praise of Latte's dissertation ("nach jeder Seite ausgezeichneten Untersuchung"), had done much to insure the young man's success. Latte later edited Wilamowitz' *Kleine Schriften* IV (Berlin 1962).

¹⁰⁷ "As Number One."

¹⁰⁸ Giorgio Pasquali (1885-1952): see F. Klingner, *Gnomon* 25 (1953) 60-62, and for a moving evocation of a remarkable character Ed. Fraenkel, *Gnomon* 26 (1954) 337-341 = *KB* II 601-607, a review of Pasquali's book-length review of Ludwig Curtius, *Deutsche und Antike Welt: Lebenserinnerungen* (Stuttgart 1950).

nach Deutschland gerufen wird, halte ich es auch für eine schlechthin unverzeihliche Handlung. Ein Romane gehört nicht nach Deutschland, mit einem Schweden oder Holländer wäre das was anderes.¹⁰⁹

Sie haben sich nun entschieden; ich bedaure es für Göttingen sehr,¹¹⁰ Ihnen wünsche ich, dass Sie es nicht einmal bereuen.

An Ihrem Vergil¹¹¹ habe ich viel Freude, namentlich die Verbindung mit Dante.¹¹² Aber eine Kunstfigur bleibt ein homerisierendes Epos wie Herman [*sic*] u. Dorothea¹¹³ eine Kunstfigur bleibt.¹¹⁴ Der Erfolg ist doch stilistisch gewesen, da ungeheuer. Aber die nationale Haltung, die das wirklich Grosse ist, hat weder bei den Nachfolgern im Epos noch im Volke gewirkt. Das hat eben erst Dante begriffen. Ich würde mehr sagen, wenn ich Zeit hätte.

Nur noch eine Kleinigkeit. Es ist keineswegs ein Irrtum von mir, dass Leo die Übersetzung aus dem *λύόμενος* für Accius gehalten hat, sondern er hat mir das in Göttingen ausführlich dargelegt.¹¹⁵ Dass Sie anders

Pasquali's attraction to Curtius is revealing. *Niemals und immer*. They shared similar fates. For Pasquali on Wilamowitz see his *Pagine stravaganti* I (Florence 1968) 55–64 (review of *Erinnerungen*) and 65–92 (necrology), which M. Gigante, *PP* 156 (1974) 204, called “le spassionate, ma non compassate, pagine.” Klingner remarks (p. 61) that but for World War I “he perhaps would have become a German professor.” The breakdown during World War II was no coincidence.

¹⁰⁹ With his famous bluntness Wilamowitz states his considered opinion. He loved Italy and Italians. Pasquali was a friend of sorts. He did not think that Pasquali should teach in a German university. In letters to Werner Jaeger he expresses considerable doubt about Pasquali's scholarly competence. Cf. M. L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique* (Stuttgart 1973) 61: “One would suppose that any editor of a verse text would make a point of mastering the rules relevant to his work, but in fact they frequently fail to (particularly in the more southerly countries of Europe).”

¹¹⁰ Winter semester 1930/1931 was Fraenkel's last at Göttingen, when he held a seminar on Seneca, *Troades* (C. J. Classen). How long there was between the invitation to Freiburg and the decision to go, I do not know.

¹¹¹ Ed. Fraenkel, *Gedanken zu einer deutschen Vergilfeier* (Berlin 1930). (G. N. Knauer).

¹¹² Cf. Wilamowitz, *KS* VI 373.

¹¹³ Sc. Goethe, *Hermann und Dorothea*.

¹¹⁴ See Fraenkel, *Vergil*, 19 n.1 (G. N. Knauer).

¹¹⁵ Wilamowitz, *Aeschyli Tragoediae* (Berlin 1914) 73, alleged that Leo considered the verses at Cic. *TD* 2.23–26 (= Aesch. fr. 324 Mette) to be from Accius' translation of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Solutus*. Fraenkel, *Gnomon* 6 (1930) 663 = *KB* II 67–68 (G. N. Knauer), held that Wilamowitz had muddled the matter (“kleine Gedächtnistäuschung”), largely because Leo does not choose to discuss the verses in his *Geschichte*. Pohlenz (ad Cic. *TD* 2.23) considers the verses Cicero's own rendering, although perhaps incorporating a verse of Accius. Wilamowitz emphatically defends what he wrote. See further A. Klotz,

urteilen, sah ich aus Ihrem Buche;¹¹⁶ wenn Leo sich nicht selbst geäußert hat, so mögen ihm Zweifel gekommen sein und Sie mögen Recht haben.

Von Ihrer erneuten Sorge um Ihre Tochter¹¹⁷ wussten wir und haben sie mitgeföhlt. Sie sagen, dass es sich zum Guten gewandt hat.

Mit ergebensten Grüßen, auch an H. Fränkel, dessen Parmenides¹¹⁸ mich beschäftigt.

Ihr

UvWilamowitz

17.

[23 VIII 31]¹¹⁹

Herrn Professor Dr. E. Fränkel

Freiburg i/Br.

Lugustr 17

Nur mit einem Worte kann ich Ihnen danken, lieber Herr College. Natürlich ist mir eine solche Aufnahme von Bd I¹²⁰ sehr wertvoll; hoffentlich enttäuscht II nicht zu sehr — wenn ich ihn fertig schreiben

Tragicorum Fragmenta (Munich 1953) 253–255. G. Przychocki, *Eos* 32 (1929) 215 ff had defended Accian authorship. Contrast C. J. Herington, *TAPA* 92 (1961) 239–250.

¹¹⁶ *Iktus* (above, n.64) 318–319.

¹¹⁷ “That winter all five of us children were ill to various degrees of seriousness” (Edward Fraenkel). The reference would either be to Renate (1920—) or Barbara (1924–1953).

¹¹⁸ Hermann Fränkel, *Parmenidesstudien NGG*, 1930, 153–192 = *Wege und Formen frühgriechischen Denkens*² (Munich 1960) 157–197 (G. N. Knauer); cf. F. Solmsen, *Gnomon* 7 (1931) 474–481.

¹¹⁹ Wilamowitz had seven weeks to live. This is the latest preserved communication known to me. A postcard of May 20, 1931, to F. Solmsen and a brief personal letter of July 7, 1931, to A. B. Drachmann survive. The last real letter of substance is that to James Loeb of April 28, 1931: see *Illinois Classical Studies* 2 (1977) 462 ff. Some days before June 9, 1931, Wilamowitz collapsed in the Berlin heat and was confined, often bedridden, to his home with what he calls in his letter to Drachmann “Nierenkolik.” His terminal illness and the obsession to finish *Glaube* restricted his correspondence considerably. For an eyewitness account of his death see Schwester Hildegard von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (above, n.74) 162–163.

¹²⁰ Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* I (Berlin 1931). A number of Fraenkel’s addenda were printed by G. Klaffenbach in the posthumous *Der Glaube der Hellenen* II (Berlin 1932) 549–552. These are not included in the Horsfall bibliography (see n.3, above).

kann.¹²¹ Addenda gibt es viel, auch von Ihren Monita möchte ich manches berücksichtigen. Aber ich muss dazu gesund werden, jetzt liege ich wieder zu Bett und muss manche Schmerzen aushalten.

Daher nur dieser kurze Dank. Es freut mich, dass Sie sich wohl fühlen, hoffentlich hält es vor.

Mit schönsten Grüßen

Ihr

UvWilamowitz

CONCLUSION

I should like to conclude with Fraenkel's last known evaluation of Wilamowitz, whose memory he revered until his death. In a letter of August 9, 1968, to Dorothea Freifrau Hiller von Gaertringen, geb. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (July 15, 1879–March 24, 1972), who copied out the passage for me in January 1972, he wrote:¹²²

Es hat wohl einige wenige Philologen gegeben, die ebenso gelehrt waren wie er aber nach Scaliger wohl keiner, der alles so zusammensah. Dies, das naturhafte *συννοεῖν*, das Zusammensehen davon, was sonst in den Schubfächern der Spezialisten säuberlich getrennt schlummerte, ist mir immer als das Eigentümlichste an ihm erschienen. Etwas hat es wohl damit zu tun, daß er nicht wie so viele Philologen als Pastoren- oder Lehrersohn an das Altertum herantrat, sondern aus einer ganz andern Schicht kam, einer Schicht wo strenge Selbstzucht, gewissenhafte Pflichterfüllung, aber auch unabhängiges Herrentum zu den Lebens-elementen gehörte.

APPENDIX I

Two notes of Wilamowitz to Ruth Fraenkel, geb. von Velsen (1892–1970) survive¹²³ and his informal evaluation of her dissertation.¹²⁴ They

¹²¹ He did not live to complete volume two. For the heroic circumstances of its composition see the eloquent words of his student G. Klaffenbach (1890–1972) apud Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* II² (Basel 1956) iii–vi. On his deathbed in intense pain under morphine he worked on the book dictating, until the last day and the moment he lost consciousness, to his eldest daughter, Dorothea.

¹²² Mrs. Otto J. Brendel generously controlled my transcription.

¹²³ For Ruth von Velsen see G. Williams (above, n.2) 419–420, esp. 419: "Ruth was a delightful person, with an old-fashioned courtesy and dignity, with more sense of humour than Eduard, firm and intelligent, interested and interesting, kind and self-denying to a fault." See nn.11 and 30, above.

¹²⁴ Ruth von Velsen, *De titulorum Arcadiae flexione et copia verborum* (Diss. Berlin 1917) vii, 84. It is cited by Friedrich Bechtel, *Die griechischen Dialekte* I (Berlin 1921) 317.

are brief and I include them as documents that attest the attention Wilamowitz generously granted the deserving young.

18.

[13 XI 16]

Fräulein Ruth von Velsen

Zehlendorf

Lessingstr 29¹²⁵

Liebes Fräulein von Velsen

Ich habe Ihre Arbeit¹²⁶ durchgesehen, lege sie heute auf das Institut, auf den Tisch des Bibliothekars: da wird sie ja sicher sein und Sie können sie bequem abholen. Ein Zettel¹²⁷ liegt darin; ich habe eigentlich nichts zu beanstanden, brauche den Rest nicht vorher zu sehen.

Mit bestem Gruss

UWilamowitz

Ich wurde verhindert, heute die Arbeit mitzunehmen, bringe sie also morgen 11 Uhr ins Institut.

19.

[13 XI 16]¹²⁸

Ich habe natürlich die Sammlungen nicht kontrolliert, nur einige Male nachgeschlagen. Habe kaum etwas zu erinnern, denn über die Anlage werden Sie mit GehRat Schulze¹²⁹ verhandelt haben. Es scheint, die Grammatiker wünschen dieses Ausschütten des ganzen Materials, von dem ich kein Freund bin. Ich will also darin nicht stören. Ich würde auch dieses Manuscript als Dissertation zulassen, würde aber die Namen gern hinzunehmen, und etwas Zusammenfassung werden Sie doch geben — sonst muss das Ihr Rezensent tun und hat den Lohn von Ihrem redlichen Fleiss.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ Now Berlin (West) 37, Limastrasse 29, occupied by the "Bund Freiheitslicher Juristen" (G. N. Knauer).

¹²⁶ The manuscript of the later published dissertation (see n.124, above).

¹²⁷ No. 19, below.

¹²⁸ I have taken the date from the postmark on no. 18, and assume this is the *Zettel* which Wilamowitz said he would place in the manuscript. The *Zettel* was found in a large envelope addressed in an unknown hand to Ruth von Velsen bearing the postmark 3 XI 16. I think that Frä. von Velsen simply placed the note in an available envelope whose postmark has nothing to do with the dating of no. 19.

¹²⁹ Wilhelm Schulze (1863-1935): see Eduard Fraenkel, "Wilhelm Schulze," *CR* 49 (1935) 217-219 = *KB* II 579-582. Fraenkel met Ruth von Velsen in Schulze's seminar (Lloyd-Jones [above, n.2] 635).

¹³⁰ There follows a large page of detailed corrections and queries.

20.

[25 IV 31]¹³¹

Frau Professor Fränkel

Freiburg i/Br.

Lugustr 17

Hochgeehrte Frau Fränkel

Danke sehr schön für Ihren freundlichen Gruss und die Sendung. Vermisst hatte ich die Anacreontea gelegentlich, aber ein Unheil ist nicht geschehen.¹³² Ich gratuliere zu der schönen Wohnung und dem Frühling, der heute am ersten Tage zu uns gekommen ist. Bisher war es schauderhaft.

Mit ergebensten Grüßen an Ihren Gatten und gelegentlich an das Ehepaar Schadewaldt¹³³

Ihr

UvWilamowitz

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO

¹³¹ Three days before the second letter to James Loeb: see n.119, above.

¹³² Apparently Fraenkel had borrowed a book from Wilamowitz' library.

¹³³ Wolfgang Schadewaldt (1900-1974) until 1934 a friend of Fraenkel: see Lloyd-Jones, *Gnomon* 43 (1971) 638 n.3. For Wilamowitz and Schadewaldt see *GRBS* 16 (1975) 451-457. I do not know who composed the following couplet:

lässt der JÄGER WOLFF und FUCHS und M'HARDER los
wird der SCHADIMWALD ganz ungeheuer gross.

It must date from about this period.

SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D.

SUSAN TRAFTON EDMUNDS — *Homeric ΝΗΠΙΟΣ*

THE word *νήπιος* is usually assigned a first meaning "child" and a derivative sense "childish" or "foolish." It has never had a generally accepted etymology. Recent study of the influence of the laryngeal on Greek negative composition eliminates a number of earlier suggestions and indicates a probable derivation from the Indo-European root **āp-* found in Latin *apīscor* and Sanskrit *āpnóti*. The primal sense of the word *νήπιος* would thus be something like "not-connecting/-connected." This root appears in Greek also in unnegativized form in the word *ἥπιος*. A detailed study of the contexts of *ἥπιος* and *νήπιος* confirms the likelihood of this derivation.

In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, someone who is *nēpios* is "like a child," and someone who is *ēpios* is "like a father." The word *ēpios* in Homeric diction always, when used of persons, describes someone who, like a father, or a king, is concerned with promoting the social cohesion of the group of which he is head, or with reintegrating the particular person toward whom he is called *ēpios* into the social group. When used of things the word *ēpios* appears most often as an epithet of *pharmaka*. There is evidence that the epithet has been transferred to the drugs from the physician who has the special knowledge needed to apply those drugs. The function of the physician is to reconnect the wounded man with life itself. The word *ēpios*, then, is not so much an adjective of manner as a description of a particular social function.

The word *nēpios*, also, is best defined in terms of social phenomena. A study of the formulaic phrase *nēpia tekna* shows that a child who is *nēpios*, typically, is left in company with his mother, is deprived of his father, and is unlikely to grow up. He is thus the point of disconnection of his own family line. He will neither replace his father as a warrior, nor produce sons to replace himself. Furthermore, he is disconnected from his social status and physical well-being as warrior's son, and also from his own epic destiny. Astyanax is the archetypal example of this

syndrome. Telemachos and Diomedes are apparent exceptions. In the stories of both, however, is found a complex of motifs which presents an analogue to an almost universal pattern of symbolism associated with puberty initiations. It is always characteristic of such initiations that the novice undergoes a symbolic death and is reborn as an adult. Telemachos and Diomedes, as *nēpioi*, perish, but under the sponsorship of Athene, as substitute "father," they are reborn as adults.

There are cases, chiefly in Iliadic similes, in which the word *nēpios* seems to express nothing more nor less than "what is characteristic of a child." A careful examination of the contexts makes clear, however, that in each case children are characteristically engaged in ephemeral activities, that is, activities which have no claim on the future in terms of securing lasting fame or producing permanent objects; or the mental perception of these children is limited to the immediate present, that is, disconnected from past and future.

The disconnection of adults who receive the epithet *nēpios* is not fundamentally different from that of children. Adult *nēpioi* are usually about to die. Both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* tell of the progressive isolation of the hero; those from whom the hero is isolated, the Greek army and Patroklos in particular, Odysseus's men and even the suitors, are especially prone to receive the epithet *nēpios*. These people, through their mental disconnections (from knowledge of past and future) disconnect themselves socially (through their own deaths) from the hero. It is also characteristic of adult *nēpioi* that they misuse those social institutions which ought to be instruments of social connection, namely speech and courtesy, especially guest-friendship. Furthermore, they are apt to put their trust in ephemeral things.

The person who is *nēpios* is simultaneously socially disconnected and mentally disconnected whether he is an adult or a child. There is thus, in Homeric diction, no metaphorical sense of the word *nēpios*. If the word *nēpios* came eventually to mean simply "child" in Greek, it was because of the influence of contextual association.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Degree in Classical Philology 1976

JUSTINA WINSTON GREGORY — *Madness in the Heracles,
Orestes and Bacchae: A Study in Euripidean Drama*

The motif of madness plays a significant role in three surviving plays of Euripides: the *Heracles*, *Orestes* and *Bacchae*. A study of these plays

reveals something of a progression — as well as many hesitations and changes of mind — in Euripides' portrayal of madness.

In all three plays Euripides draws on literary conventions of madness which appear in Homer and are refined by Aeschylus and Sophocles. It is part of this convention that madness is imposed upon an individual from the exterior, visited upon him by a god either as punishment or as part of some divine plan. Conventional too are the physical symptoms of madness: rolling eyes, irregular breathing, a generally wild and grotesque demeanor. Within the framework of these conventions Euripides establishes his own interpretation of madness. He is the first to discover a common element in the situations of the madmen of myth, to draw attention to the reasons which might have made them vulnerable to madness.

In the *Heracles* Euripides rearranges the mythic material to make the episode of madness the climax rather than the beginning of Heracles' career. This change serves to reverse the usual sense of the Heracles myth: instead of a man becoming a hero, we are shown a hero becoming a man. A secondary motif of the play reinforces the movement from heroism to mortality: the theme of Heracles' two fathers. At the beginning of the play Heracles is presented as having two fathers, Amphitryon and Zeus. This double heritage poses a dilemma for him which the episode of madness, however dreadful its other consequences, enables him to solve. Before his madness Heracles is invulnerable and triumphant (*καλλίνικος*): after it he acknowledges his mortal limitations, his need for human help (from Theseus, for instance), and also his human father, Amphitryon.

Madness in the *Heracles* comes entirely from the exterior. It is sent by Hera, and there is nothing in Heracles' own character to explain it. Heracles is the only person in the play who goes mad, and the beginning and end of his madness are clearly delimited. In the *Orestes* things are rather different. Not only Orestes, but also Pylades and Electra are mad; nor is it clear where their madness begins and ends. Orestes is no innocent victim of the gods: the play reveals that the murder of Clytemnestra, far from being a duty imposed on him by Apollo, was an expression of his own nature — so much so that he tries to repeat it with his plots against Helen and Hermione. Madness is associated with character, seen as a perversion of the mind rather than an outside force attacking the mind. Orestes' complex of weakness and violence, delusion and vindictiveness is his real madness, of which the fits and the Furies are only the most obvious sign. For him as for Heracles, however, his madness may be seen as arising from dilemma: his conflicting loyalty to his father and to his mother.

Madness, limited in scope in the two earlier tragedies, appears to dominate the *Bacchae*. Both protagonists are mad, and the Bacchic rite is imbued with madness. For the first time madness is condoned, even praised as a universal principle. Pentheus' punishment, presented initially as the result of his opposition to the god, finally takes its place as a necessary rite in the worship of Dionysus: violence and madness are acclaimed (by the chorus, if not by Euripides) as a necessary part of human life.

Although each madman is mad in a very different way, there is one constant in their situations. Each is caught between two equal alternatives. Heracles must choose between two fathers, Orestes between two parents, Pentheus between attraction for and horror of Dionysus. The reaction of each is to go mad. Euripides was unique among ancient authors, I believe, in fastening on dilemmas as precipitating factors in madness.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Degree in Classical Philology 1974

PAUL DAVID KOVACS — *Euripides' Hecuba and Andromache*

The *Hecuba* and the *Andromache* pose problems for the critic that are very similar. In both plays, two stories have been combined to make a single plot, which is usually deemed a fault of construction. In both plays, there is a great deal of anachronistic reflection on fifth-century problems and issues, reflection that seems intrusive and inorganic. And both of these plays appear to come from the same period, the middle of the 420s. This dissertation examines these two plays separately and together as part of an attempt to understand Euripides' artistic methods in the 420s.

The introductory chapter is a discussion of some general principles of interpretation that apply to Euripides and to Greek tragedy in general. It also tries to summarize some of the peculiarities of the plays of the 420s with which criticism has to deal.

The second chapter, on the *Hecuba*, is divided into three parts. An introductory section isolates three problems in the play, the double plot, the sudden change in the heroine from passive sufferer to energetic avenger of her son's death, and the anachronistic speeches. The remaining two sections attempt to show that these three peculiarities are all part of a single conception. The section called "Formal Features" examines the double plot in detail in order to demonstrate the care

Euripides took, and the risks he ran, in combining these two stories into a single play. It is argued that the double plot is related to other features of Euripidean dramaturgy in that it reduces the power and efficacy of the characters and the involvement of the audience with them. More important, the changes Euripides introduced into the legendary material from which he made his plot correspond closely with the thematic oppositions of the play.

These oppositions are discussed in the third section, where the conclusion emerges that the themes of this play are, in the broad sense, political. The chief antithesis of the play is that of Greek and barbarian. In the course of the play, this antithesis is identified with that of democrat and dynast, of politics where the masses have power and those where the leaders do. Between the Greek army, run on democratic lines, and the old Trojan nobility, there are no common standards. The kaleidoscopic shifts of alliances forming and reforming under the stress of expediency demonstrates the tragic clash of moral convictions with the essentially amoral world of interstate relations. The anachronistic speeches are not extradramatic *embolima* but help to underline the play's oppositions.

The third chapter, on the *Andromache*, consists of four sections. In the first, problems analogous to those in the *Hecuba* — the double plot, anachronistic and seemingly counter-dramatic speeches, the character of Hermione — are set forth in a preliminary way. In addition, a list is made of a number of questions, both old and new, which might be raised about what the characters do and why they do it. A number of these are treated in a section called "Textual Problems." (Three of these textual discussions are published in this volume of *Harvard Studies*.) The results are summarized in a third section, "What Happens in the *Andromache*."

The action of the play is usually misunderstood on a number of points, of which two are the most important. It is generally assumed on the basis of two lines in the prologue that Andromache is no longer the concubine of Neoptolemus, and on the basis of other lines that Hermione persecutes her either because she really thinks Andromache is making her sterile or — if that seems improbable — for reasons that are still more obscure. In fact, analysis of the play shows that Euripides intended his audience to understand a different situation. Andromache is still the concubine of Neoptolemus and jealousy is the motive for her persecution. And Hermione has no children not from any organic condition but because her husband dislikes her. The second difficulty is that Andromache warns Menelaus that his plan will cause the dissolution rather

than the preservation of his daughter's marriage, and it is hard to see why he does not take the point. Indeed, his action is difficult to understand in view of its probable consequences. But this difficulty is due to an interpolation. Andromache's lines of warning to Menelaus are spurious, and from the rest of the play it is apparent that Euripides intended his audience to regard the murder of a slave and a member of the hated Trojan race as a deed quite within Menelaus' power to commit with impunity. The action of the play is now intelligible.

The last section, "An Interpretation of the *Andromache*," begins with a discussion of the double plot and the illogicalities that it involves. The remainder is a discussion of the thematic oppositions in the play and the overall direction that the action takes. The contrast is chiefly between the worthy values of the Trojan and Phthian characters, who exhibit personal valor, concern for the future of the race, and a belief in *physis*, and the worthless values of the Spartan characters, who believe in clever manipulation and concern themselves only with their own immediate satisfaction. Despite the tragic death of Neoptolemus, the action of the play moves to a conclusion in which noble *physis* is triumphant and the survival of the Trojan and Phthian races is assured. Even in the death of Neoptolemus the gods are not malign but show providential care. In this play, too, anachronism serves to outline rather than being intrusive.

A chapter of conclusions discuss the nature and uses of anachronism in Euripides. The anachronistic speeches serve to generalize the action by representing some of its oppositions in modern, fifth-century form. Tragedy is not thereby modernized, but rather modernity is "tragedified," subsumed into a structure which assimilates it without residue. Anachronism is a form of exaggeration or stylization, akin in its effects to the exaggerated features painted on the tragic mask. Euripides differs from his predecessors in degree but not in kind.

In the remainder of the chapter, other widely received notions about Euripidean drama are subjected to correction on the basis of our two plays. Euripides is often thought to place his preponderant emphasis on the inwardness and individuality of his characters and to cast their rank or status in the shade or in an ironic twilight. He is frequently credited with an interest in psychological reality. And he is often thought to be the poet of the isolated and alienated individual, divorced from the larger groups, familial and national, in which the Aeschylean and Sophoclean hero finds his place. But psychology in both plays has proved to be a false guide to interpretation, while the external status of individuals is not a negligible or accidental quality but essential to their stance as

characters. And the group, whether house, race, or nation, is central to the structure of these plays. Euripides is not "the unhoused talent," and the degree to which he pierces through the *regium* and *heroicum* in order to reach the *humanum* has been exaggerated. Euripides is trying to work within the conventions of his art, not to bring them into question. Interpretation ought not to assume a more "moral" or "spiritual" stance than the poet himself has called for.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Degree in Classical Philology 1976

PAULA BETH REINER — *Love and Friendship in Plato and Aristotle*

This thesis is a probing of silence, of Plato's silence on unselfish love in friendship and of Aristotle's lesser silence on personal uniqueness and personality fit as a factor in friendship.

We begin with a study of the words *φίλος*, *φιλία*, *φιλεῖν*. From this study our question emerges: When does *φιλία* in the sense of friendship involve *φιλία* in the sense of love? In the *Lysis* Plato gives the friendship of comrades, the friendship of lover and beloved, the relationship of parents and children, as settings where one might best look for love. In his other works Plato gives a full presentation only of erotic friendship. In the erotic context Plato does not explicitly develop an idea of unselfish love. His silence on unselfishness is the more surprising because Aristotle was able to make a requirement for unselfishness, as expressed by *ἐκείνου ἕνεκα*, a starting point in his discussions of *φιλία* in the *Eudemian* and *Nicomachean Ethics*.

In the *Lysis* Plato distinguishes between loving a means and loving an end. This distinction should make discussion of unselfishness easier; but Plato does not ever use the distinction to approach the idea of loving a person as an end, and we do not know from the *Lysis* whether he thought that was possible. In the *Symposium* the lover makes the offspring, not his human partner, the beloved. It is not clear that the lover's motive is other than selfish — a desire for his own immortality — and it is not even clear that as he progresses up the philosophic ladder, he will maintain his relationship with a human partner or be creative in that relationship. In the *Phaedrus* the human partner is the beloved. The erotic relationship which Plato presents is more satisfactory: it is enduring, dynamic, and probably unselfish. The lover devotes himself to the god within his beloved. The erotic relationship is clearly to the

good of the beloved and is probably *for* the good of the beloved, although Socrates makes no overt remarks about unselfishness. In the *Republic* unselfish love is a back issue. However, it is in the context of a political not a personal relationship. Plato does not consider here how unselfish love might cause two persons to form a whole; rather the whole already exists (as the state) and Plato's problem is to show how each person will regard the good of the state as his own good.

Aristotle's presentation of *φιλία* offers some problems: In the *Eudemian Ethics* there is the problem of focal meaning and whether Aristotle is right that *φιλία* cannot be defined in the traditional way. In the *Nicomachean Ethics*, where Aristotle is apparently satisfied with the traditional method of definition, there is a problem because he is not willing to drop *ἐκείνου ἕνεκα* from his definition of *φιλία*, although it fits only one, or perhaps two, of his three kinds of *φιλία*. Aristotle's silence on the higher erotic relationship which Plato presented is observed. And we find that Aristotle emphasizes character traits in friendship but pays scant attention to what we distinguish as personality traits. Nor does he recognize the uniqueness of persons as a factor to be taken into account when explaining *φιλία*, although this was suggested in Aristophanes' speech in the *Symposium*.

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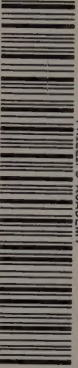
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